


TIME

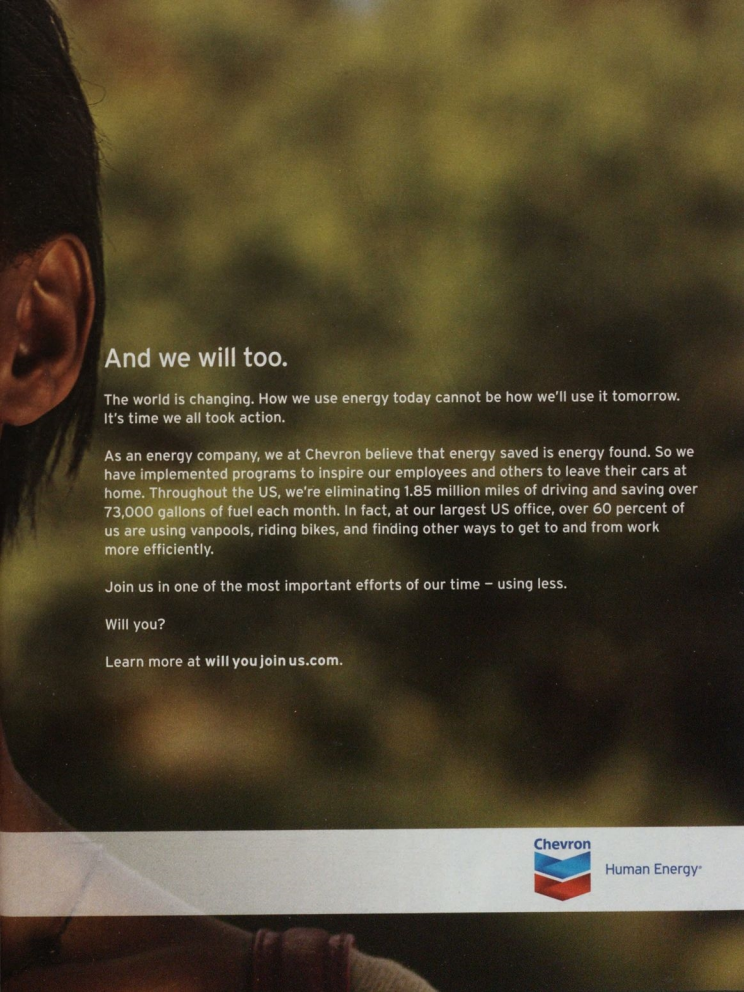
COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE

A photograph of President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama. Barack Obama is on the left, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and red tie, with his hand raised in a gesture. Michelle Obama is on the right, wearing a yellow lace jacket over a yellow top and a pearl necklace. They are both looking towards the right. The background is dark and out of focus.

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA
JANUARY 20, 2009



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To Our Readers

Democracy's Big Day. In words and images, *TIME*'s Inauguration issue marks an American political ritual and signals a new beginning

THE CONSTITUTION SPECIFIES ONLY that the President take an oath of 35 words. It says nothing about parades or Inaugural balls or rock concerts. The challenge in a democracy is that you don't want a coronation (too much pomp and circumstance), but you do want to mark a change, a passing of the torch from one President to another. After all, it's "democracy's big day," as George Bush 41 called it in his unpretentious way: the orderly and peaceful transfer of power that is the foundation of the republic. Yes, it's mostly symbolic, but symbols matter.

In 1961, when *TIME* showed on the cover a photograph of John F. Kennedy taking the oath of office as the nation's 35th President, it was the first time we had put a presidential Inauguration on the magazine's cover. At the time, it was also the fastest cover close in the magazine's history. The photo was shot and processed in Washington in about three hours, then the art director took the transparencies on a plane to Chicago, where they were taken to *TIME*'s central printing plant, where a color engraving was produced. Then those images were taken by air to printing plants in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington and Albany, N.Y. All in all, about 36 hours. Now it's almost instantaneous and done completely digitally.

On the day Kennedy was inaugurated, a rare snowstorm had descended on Washington, blanketing the city with about eight inches of snow. We put J.F.K.'s Inauguration on the cover because it seemed like a break from the past, a new beginning—not just a ceremony or a quadrennial ritual. Kennedy was both the symbol and the embodiment of a new generation of American leadership. President Barack Obama's Inauguration feels the same way—and not just because he is the first African-American President. Right now, Americans seem hopeful and anxious, perhaps in equal measure, making this moment seem like the beginning of a future that is yet to be defined.

I walked around Washington the day before the Inauguration, and the spirit

in the city felt like a calm celebration of democracy—people walking around their capital, celebrating *their* President, marking *their* victory. But it did not feel like a victory of party or partisanship so much as a celebration of the simplest and yet most transcendent act of citizenship—going into a voting booth and pulling a lever and honoring the result.

Our cover story, capturing the singular, historic day, is by the great Joe Klein, whose cover story in October 2006 presciently suggested how Obama might become President. Now Joe discusses how Obama may usher in a new era of political civility. We also feature a photographic notebook by *TIME* photographer Callie Shell, whose behind-the-scenes photographs of Obama and his family have given our readers a special insight

into the man and reveal what you can't see on television. This was her fifth Inauguration, and she says she had never experienced anything like it. She said Obama was moved by the scene on the Mall—which you can see in her images. The day is planned and plotted down to the second, but what Callie captures is unscripted and unrehearsed.



Recording history Klein aboard Obama's campaign plane in September, above; Shell with Obama in October, far left; *TIME*'s inaugural Inauguration cover, in 1961

Pick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

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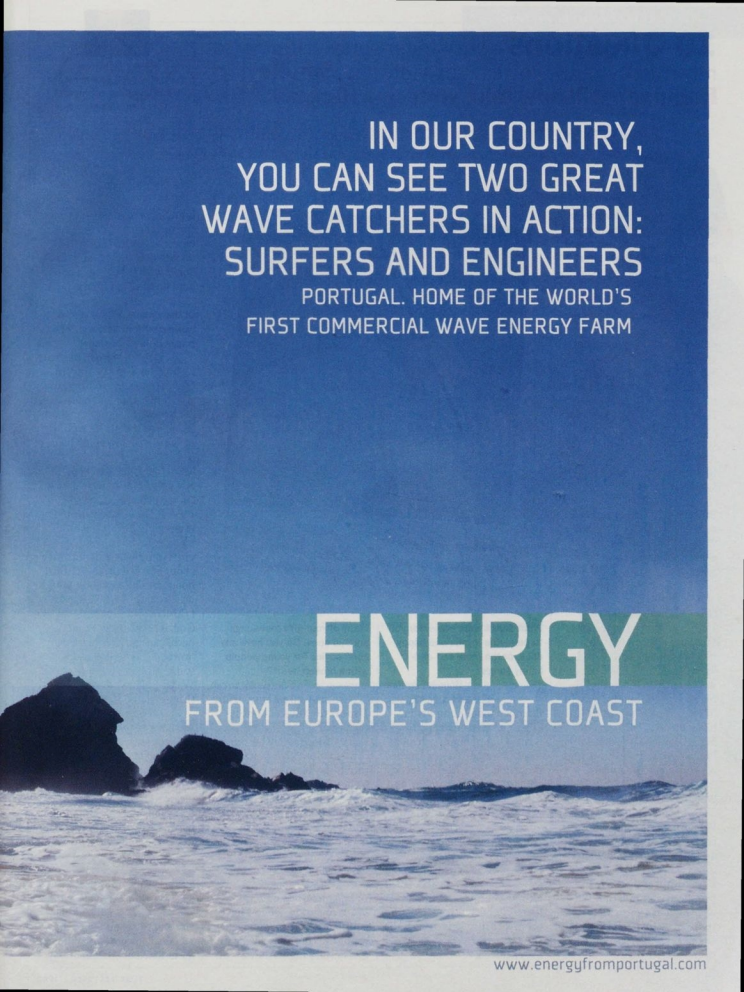
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FROM EUROPE'S WEST COAST

10 Questions.

The singer-songwriter reminisces about 50 years of Motown. **Smokey Robinson will now take your questions**



Next Questions

Ask Danny Boyle your questions for an upcoming interview, at time.com/10questions

Did you and your colleagues at Motown have any idea that your work was so special and would be so revered 50 years later?

Amy Szmania

COLUMBUS, OHIO

On the day that Berry Gordy started Motown, there were five of us there. He sat us down and said, "We are not going to make black music. We're going to make music for people. We're going to make music for the world." However, on that day and for years after that, I am positive that none of us dared to dream that the music of Motown would become what it has become.

Thank you for helping me and a lot of other vets get through Vietnam. Did you have the soldiers in mind when you wrote some of your songs in the '60s?

Mearil Martin

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.

Oliver Stone, who is my friend, told me how important the music of Motown had been to the troops and how they would be in the ditches and foxholes and bivouacs and their joy was to be dancing and singing Motown music. That is so wonderful to me. It's a great honor to think that those guys were comforted by my music.

What makes a song good?

Ari del Rosario, MANILA

What makes a song good is content. I always try to write a song so that if I had written it 50 years earlier, it would have meant something to people; at the time that I'm writing it, it's going to mean something to people; and 50 years from now, it's going to mean something to people.



*Smokey Robinson
Boy am I glad the election
has been decided. The campaign wore me out.*

What songs were easier for you to pen—the joyous and happy ones, or the more sad-and-lonely songs?

Wanda Fenwick

LEXINGTON PARK, MD.

I'm not a mood songwriter. I don't have to be happy to write a happy song. I write what I'm inspired to write at that time. I'm a life observer and I'm a people watcher, and so I just see things that happen and I write about them.

What are your favorite songs that you've written or recorded?

Gerald Horning

BAY VILLAGE, OHIO

I know this is going to sound like a cliché, but it's all of them, because I give them all the same effort. They're like my children.

Many of your greatest songs are sad ones. Do you have any good advice for young people with a broken heart?

Cheryle Valpredo

SHELBY TOWNSHIP, MICH.

Time is my advice. Time is the greatest healer there is. With time, tragedy becomes comedy. Something that you thought was unbearable, something that you thought you would never, ever recover from, 10 years from now you'll laugh about.

I never get tired of hearing them, but do you ever get tired of singing your songs?

S. Pelham Justice, NEWARK, N.J.
Well, you know what? I have sung some of those songs thousands of times. Every single, solitary night, they are all

brand-new to me, every time. I've never gotten to the point where I say, Oh, I gotta hurry up and sing this because I'm bored with this song. It don't happen like that for me.

Of the various artists you've worked with at Motown, who was your favorite singer?

Derrick Ingram, DETROIT

I would have to say Marvin Gaye. He would do things to your songs that you hadn't even thought about somebody doing, vocalwise. He would have to be on top of my list.

Could Motown have supported and saved Marvin Gaye during his low period?

Sheila Moore, HOUSTON

If we could have, we would have. Everybody loved Marvin. I found out a lot of things about Marvin and his childhood after he was gone, which was too late. And even today I think about him and I say, God, if I had known that, perhaps I could've helped my brother. I could have done something or said something. We would have done everything we could've to help him.

You have aged well. What do you attribute your longevity to? Eddie White, CHARLESTON, W.VA.
Thank you very much, man. First of all, I recognize that I am blessed. I recognize the source of my longevity is God, and I never, ever try to take his credit for what's going on in my life. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Smokey Robinson and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

Global Speak

"In this juggernaut called globalization, the 'local' can have a voice."

—Margueritte S. Murphy and Samir Dayal, Associate Professors of English, Bentley University

Bentley Professors Margueritte Murphy and Samir Dayal recently collaborated on a collection of essays exploring the myths and realities of globalization. Here they comment on the issues raised in their book, *Global Babel: Questions of Discourse and Communication in a Time of Globalization*.

Globalization is often viewed as an economic issue. But your book argues for a broader, cultural perspective. Why? MM: If we are talking about globalization—and everybody is—we need to understand it from every discipline. SD: That's why we include essays from sociologists, artists, anthropologists, political scientists and economists. Not surprisingly, they see globalization very differently.

For example? SD: Some argue that globalization is universally empowering: it lifts all boats. Others point to those left behind, the victims of globalization. MM: Globalization is complex and double-edged. Clearly we need a dual perspective.

Isn't globalization inevitable? MM: One of the myths of globalization is that it is everywhere and it is unstoppable. If globalization is a runaway train, what are we losing in terms of history, culture and tradition along the way? SD: The alternative is to give voice to the "local," which, thanks to the Internet, can now be projected globally.

Does that mean "local" is no longer local?

MM: It does raise interesting questions about location. Is the individual simply afloat in a sea of global cultures or a member of a given nation, city or village? SD: Have we moved from local to global to "glocal"?

What are the lessons of *Global Babel*? SD: That globalization is both good and bad. That students of globalization must pay attention to other cultures and perspectives—and be sensitive to local constituencies. MM: There is a plethora of discourse about globalization but no common framework for communication. *Global Babel* encourages us to reframe the questions so that we may have a more meaningful, ongoing conversation about global issues.

To learn more about our faculty research, innovative programs and cutting-edge technology, please visit our website.

MORE

Professors Murphy and Dayal discuss their work at Bentley.edu/research



Postcard: Cloudcroft.

A rare butterfly has pitted a tiny tourist town against the “bug huggers” trying to save its habitat—again. On a wing and a prayer at 9,000 ft.

BY RICHARD B. STOLLEY

THE SACRAMENTO MOUNTAINS checkerspot butterfly is unique, found in all the world only on 2,000 acres of high meadow in the village of Cloudcroft, N.M. (pop. 768, altitude 8,640 ft.), and the adjoining Lincoln National Forest. The 2-in. checkerspot colorfully floods Burro Street, Cloudcroft's main drag, every summer, and it takes its scientific name—*Euphydryas anicia cloudcrofti*—from the town that shares its habitat.

But when the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service announced in December that it would begin an investigation into whether the butterfly, with an estimated population of 5,000, deserves protection under the Endangered Species Act, Cloudcroft residents did anything but rejoice. In fact, they rebelled against the idea that the Federal Government, egged on by “bug huggers,” was telling them how to manage their neighborhood. “I like butterflies, especially when you catch them while they are still caterpillars. Deep fried and dipped in a little honey mustard sauce, they are delicious,” quipped a columnist for the *Daily News* in nearby Alamogordo, admitting a particular fondness for those from Cloudcroft, which are “sort of spicy.” Long-term negotiations to annex national-forest acreage for municipal use would be complicated by Endangered Species Act protection. “People are not happy,” says former village trustee Gary Wood.

And as they see it, for good reason. The village has been through this ordeal before—twice. In 1993 the Mexican spotted owl, which nests in the Lincoln forest, was declared threatened—a ruling that, combined with a slumping timber market, “killed the logging industry,” according to Wood. And in 1999 an environmental group, the Center for Biological Diversity, began petitioning on behalf of the checkerspot, pointing out that it was at risk from development, off-road vehicles and livestock-grazing—or as



Butterfly effect With tourism dollars at risk, Cloudcroft has other worries than the checkerspot

Nicole Rosmarino, wildlife-program director of WildEarth Guardians, which joined the cause in 2007, puts it, “smelly cows, noisy ATVs and the din of chain saws.”

In 2005, Cloudcroft, Otero County, the U.S. Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service came up with a broad local conservation plan—one of the first in the nation—designed to safeguard the butterfly on both public and private land.

But with logging virtually gone, Cloudcroft relies on tourism, which draws hundreds of thousands of visitors a year to hike, camp, fish and hunt. Restrictions on human activity in the checkerspot's habitat would bode ill for a local economy already suffering in the recession. “Anybody who is young and trying to make a living in Cloudcroft works in the tourist industry,” says Wood. “This is very bad for business.”

The latest skirmish in the checkerspot conflict began in October 2007, when an attempt to fight an infestation of tree-destroying looper caterpillars aroused the ire of environmentalists, who argued the insecticide also threatened checkerspot

larvae. The government denied demands for an emergency protected-species listing but agreed to reopen debate on permanently adding the checkerspot.

The deadline for public comments on a listing is Feb. 3, but the battle is far from over. By August, the Fish and Wildlife Service will decide whether it agrees that the butterfly needs protection. If it does, public hearings will follow. The Interior Department could take up to a year to reach a decision, which is likely to be appealed in federal court by whichever side loses.

Meanwhile, the checkerspot slumbers beneath the snowy alpine meadows of Otero County. Cloudcroft cautiously prepares for what it hopes will be the usual summer tourist invasion. And environmentalists intensify their campaign to add what would be the 21st butterfly to the list of protected species in the U.S. “Diverse native insects should be cause for celebration,” says Rosmarino. “I would like to see Cloudcroft honor and promote its endemic checkerspot, perhaps with a butterfly festival.” Cloudcroft is less enthusiastic. “Their agenda,” warns Michael Nivison, the village administrator, “is to get everybody out of the forest.” ■



2008

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Inbox



Israel's Way Forward

RE YOUR STORY "CAN ISRAEL SURVIVE?" [Jan. 19] I propose that the U.S. say, "Israel, we love and support you but not your unethical occupation of Palestinian territory. If you really recognize the right to the existence of a Palestinian state, prove it by getting out of the occupied territories. You might say, 'Well, we did, in Gaza—and look how that turned out!' But the moral high ground would be yours. And you would certainly have more worldwide sympathy and support as the Palestinians continue to bad-mouth your right to exist."

Larry Sarnier, HAIKU, HAWAII

IF GOING BACK TO PRE-1967 BORDERS WILL bring peace, why was that not enough for Israel's neighbors, who in 1967 sought to eradicate Israel? If there is to be peace, it will take two to tango. And right now, Hamas is not ready to dance.

Steve Fox, TEANECK, N.J.

THE U.S. HOLDS THE DEFINITIVE KEY TO lasting peace in the Middle East. Let's hope that the new Administration will apply tough love in its relations with Israel.

Leonard Amada, WHITING, N.J.

CAN ISRAEL WIN? DEPENDS ON HOW YOU define win. Some would say that every day the Jewish state continues to exist, grow and even prosper is a victory. It's sobering that both fronts where Israel most recently

withdrew to the last inch of the international border—Lebanon and Gaza—were used as staging grounds for launching rockets at our civilians. If we need to fight once every few years, we'll do it.

Shuki Raz, RAMAT GAN, ISRAEL

Revisiting Ariel Sharon v. TIME

IN HIS "TO OUR READERS" LETTER, MANAGING editor Richard Stengel asserts the honesty of the magazine in its coverage of the Middle East, saying, "People still recall the libel suit we won against Ariel Sharon in 1985" [Jan. 19]. For the sake of fairness, I would like to remind you of what occurred: a New York jury held that TIME's article was defamatory and false and that TIME had acted "negligently and carelessly" but held that Sharon, my father, had been unable to prove it was written "with actual malice or reckless disregard." The case was therefore dismissed. The case was also brought before an Israeli court, which agreed that TIME was guilty of defamation; TIME paid court costs and compensation. If such a judgment is a victory, we have different concepts of honesty.

Gilad Sharon, SHIKMIM FARMS, ISRAEL

Unlocking a Mystery Illness

THANK YOU FOR JOHN CLOUD'S INSIGHTFUL article on borderline personality disorder [Jan. 19]. My mother suffered terribly from this condition her entire life. She endured harsh side effects from countless medica-

WALLING OFF ISRAEL

TIME'S COVER STORY WON KUDOS, BUT many objected to the cover image:

Extremely poor taste: the barbed wire evokes Europe's wartime ghettos, which bear no parallel to the situation in Gaza.

Alberto Quiroz, MISSISSAUGA, ONT.

I find your cover very disturbing and insulting. It makes one wonder how slanted your coverage may be.

Andrea Bank, CROSSVILLE, TENN.

The Nazis were interested in wiping out Jews as well as homosexuals, Gypsies, the mentally challenged and other groups. I hope you can see the difference between that and Gaza.

Joshua Mahler, NEW YORK CITY

tions that did not work, multiple hospitalizations and shock treatments—all to no avail. Her deep spirituality was the only thing that kept her fragile relationships intact and prevented her from committing suicide. I applaud Marsha Linehan's methods and wish they had been used in my mother's case. It's too late for her, but I pray that future generations will benefit from Linehan's techniques and perhaps be spared the intense pain of this mystifying and debilitating disorder.

Nancy Leggio, BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The Legacy of Donald Rumsfeld

LIKE JOE KLEIN, I DON'T APPROVE OF the use of torture [Jan. 19]. But when Klein states, "It would be interesting, just for the fun and justice of it, to subject Rumsfeld to four hours in a stress position," it sounds as though Klein, if he had been responsible for gathering information to protect millions of Americans, would have made the same choices Rumsfeld did.

Ben Courtney, SELINGROVE, PA.

'I don't agree with Rumsfeld's war decisions, but I do recognize that he is a patriot who has served his country honorably.'

Mike Duncan, PANTEGO, TEXAS

Rumsfeld revisited Reassessing the former Defense Secretary's tactics



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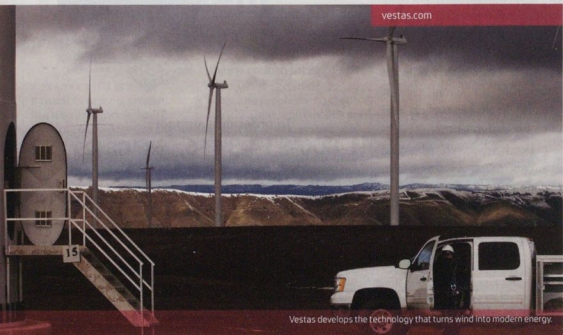
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Briefing

THE WORLD VERBATIM HISTORY POP CHART MILESTONES



The Moment

1/15/09: New York City

A PLANE CRASH IS NOT A natural time for optimism. But maybe it should be. The ditching of US Airways Flight 1549 in the Hudson River, coming in the dark of winter in a country short on confidence, was more revealing than it was astonishing.

Let's start with the statistics: First, most plane crashes are more like this one than we think. More people survive than die. Aircraft in distress don't drop, screaming, out of the sky into the fires of hell. They

end up on the ground or in water, and people must get out quickly. Those who fare best are usually those who are prepared: the pilot who has flown for four decades and trained for calamity; the man in the exit row who has read the safety card.

The rest of us, case studies say, become obedient and quiet. An instant camaraderie unifies strangers on a sinking ship or a bombed-out subway car. The overriding sound track is silence. After the Hudson crash, TV reporters

badgered passengers, incredulous that there had not been shoving and hysteria. But if we asked all the survivors of all history's mishaps, we would hear the same patient reply: No, people were pretty calm, actually. Which is not

In a dark hour on the Hudson, a ray of hope and a reminder of our resilience

to say they weren't terrified.

Imagine if this had been a scene from 24, if terrorists—not geese—had taken out the engines. The heroes would have been the rescuers—Special Forces soldiers dangling from helicopters, Jack

Bauer speedboating down the Hudson—and the passengers would have been shrieking, panicking, useless.

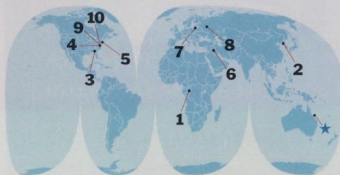
The truth is more instructive, especially now. It turns out that even with grave danger all around, leaders can make gutsy decisions that end up being right. Regular people are quite capable of wrestling open exit doors. Ferry captains, without waiting for orders, will make a beeline for trouble. We have the power to save ourselves. And we are more resilient than we think.

—BY AMANDA RIPLEY

Ripley is the author of The Unthinkable: Who Survives When Disaster Strikes—and Why

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



1 | Congo

Cooperation Amid Chaos

Nearly 1,500 Rwandan troops have joined the Congolese army to hunt down Hutu militia leaders suspected of orchestrating the 1994 genocide against the nation's Tutsi tribes. The alliance further undermines the authority of Tutsi rebel leader Laurent Nkunda, whose forces have split since fighting between Nkunda's militia and Congolese soldiers broke out in August. More than 250,000 villagers have been displaced by the fighting; Human Rights Watch reports that 650 people were killed in December alone. But some analysts say the region's violence has less to do with tribal conflict and more to do with the struggle over control of its mineral resources.

2 | North Korea

Up Next: Kim Junior?

Citing intelligence sources, South Korean news outlets reported that Dear Leader



Kim Jong Il, who has barely been seen since suffering a suspected stroke last August, has named his youngest son, Jong Un, as his successor. Little is known about Jong

Un, who is in his mid-20s and has lived a life of secrecy—much as his father has.

3 | Georgia

Perilous Peanuts

Nearly 500 people in 43 states have been sickened by a salmonella outbreak caused by tainted peanut butter and peanut-butter products. Made at the Peanut Corp. of America's Blakely, Ga., plant on or after July 1, 2008, the products were not sold directly to the public but distributed to other food companies. Kellogg Co. has recalled 16 of its products, including items from its Keebler and Famous Amos labels, and said salmonella was found in some of its peanut-butter crackers. The outbreak, which may have contributed to six deaths, is unrelated to a 2007 peanut-butter recall by food giant ConAgra.

4 | Washington

No Pardons

On his last full day as President, George W. Bush performed just two acts of clemency: he commuted the sentences of two former U.S. border-patrol agents whose controversial convictions for shooting a Mexican drug smuggler ignited fierce debate over border policies. By comparison, his predecessor, Bill Clinton, granted 140 pardons and 36 commutations on his final day in office.

5 | New York City

Job Cuts Hit Urbanites Hard

Cities and their surrounding communities account for 90% of all U.S. income, according to a new report from the Conference of Mayors, which is why its forecast of huge job losses in these regions is so troubling. Leading the job cuts are New York City, which is expected to undergo more painful layoffs in the financial sector, and Los Angeles, where depressed home prices have ravaged the local economy. The report also predicts that the overall unemployment rate in metropolitan areas will rise above 9% in 2010.

U.S. metropolitan areas with the largest predicted 2009 job losses

New York	180,800	Phoenix	51,000
Los Angeles	164,100	Atlanta	50,900
Miami	84,800	Detroit	50,400
Chicago	80,300	San Francisco	49,200
Boston	58,500	Dallas	45,200



6 | Baghdad

A DEADLY CAMPAIGN As Iraq's Jan. 31 provincial elections near, violence against politicians has escalated. Hassan Zaidan al-Luhaihi, a Sunni leader and former member of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party, was killed by a suicide bomber on Jan. 18, just two days after Shi'ite candidate Haitham Kadhim al-Husaini was fatally shot. The murders come as influential Shi'ite cleric Ayatullah Ali Husaini Sistani has urged Iraqis to vote despite dissatisfaction with previous elections.

Numbers:

35%

Italian automaker Fiat SpA's stake in Chrysler under a proposed partnership to save the beleaguered car companies

40

Number of pairs of shoes thrown onto the White House lawn by antiwar protesters during George W. Bush's last day in office



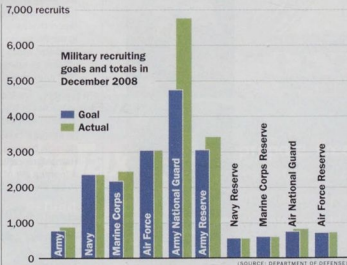
7 | Lithuania

BALTIC RIOTS Just days after clashes in the Latvian capital Riga, unrest triggered by mounting economic woes spread to neighboring Lithuania, where protesters in Vilnius hurled eggs and rocks through the windows of the Parliament building (above). After enjoying years of rapid growth, the two former Soviet republics have been pummeled by the global financial crisis; Latvia has experienced the sharpest economic reversal among E.U. nations. Discord over controversial reforms has imperiled their governments, with members of Latvia's ruling coalition calling for early elections.

8 | Moscow

More Voices Silenced

In a chilling reminder of the high cost of speaking out in Russia, a prominent human-rights lawyer and a journalist were gunned down by a masked assassin in broad daylight on Jan. 19. While authorities have no immediate suspects, the lawyer, Stanislav Markelov, had opposed the early release of a Russian officer convicted of killing a Chechen woman. More than 1,000 people gathered in Grozny, the Chechen capital, to condemn the shootings.



9 | Washington

A RECESSION WINDFALL FOR RECRUITERS With layoffs sweeping the country, all branches of the military have met or surpassed their recruiting goals in recent months as Americans look for stable employment. In the fiscal year that ended in September, the military surpassed its goal by adding 184,841 new active-duty service members.

\$147 BILLION
New funds for British banks to promote lending

\$350 BILLION
Second half of the U.S. government's \$700 billion TARP bailout

\$825 BILLION
Proposed new U.S. House stimulus package

10 | Washington

Bailout Bonanza

Despite criticism that the distribution of the first \$350 billion from the Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) lacked transparency, the Senate voted 52-42 to release the remaining bailout funds. The same day, House Democrats unveiled an even larger stimulus plan that would funnel money to local governments, fund infrastructure development and provide middle-class tax cuts. Britain, meanwhile, announced a bank-bailout plan as the European Commission predicted the loss of 3.5 million jobs in the European Union in 2009.



★ | What They're Applying for in Australia:

When officials at Tourism Queensland published an online posting for a "dream job" as caretaker of Hamilton Island, the agency's website crashed after receiving more than 1 million hits in three days. The job, which pays \$100,000 for a six-month stint, involves just 12 hours of "work" each month. Duties include swimming, fishing, snorkeling, producing a blog extolling the area's beauty and fetching mail.

\$250
MILLION

Amount Mexican billionaire Carlos Slim plans to invest in the struggling New York Times amid falling ad revenue

1,000

Number of Chinese applicants for prized jobs in civil service who were caught cheating; some used advanced spy technology



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Verbatim

'The people who did this to me don't want women to be educated. They want us to be stupid things.'

SHAMSIA HUSSEINI, one of 11 Afghan girls who returned to class after being attacked with acid two months ago en route to school

'Daddy, the plane turned into a boat.'

SOPHIA SOSA, a 4-year-old traveling with her family on the US Airways flight that was forced to ditch in the Hudson River

'The impact very much resembles that of a terrorist attack.'

PETAR DIMITROV, Bulgarian Energy Minister, on the effect of Russia's decision to temporarily cut off gas supplies to his country

'Even if many Iraqis support his act, he is at the mercy of all kinds of extremists.'

MAURO POGGIA, lawyer for Muntazer al-Zaidi, the Iraqi journalist who hurled his shoes at President Bush, on why al-Zaidi is seeking asylum in Switzerland

'You've got to do some tough love. Otherwise you're going to lose another generation.'

JENNY MACKLIN, Australia's Minister for Indigenous Affairs, on imposing alcohol restrictions and "income management" on struggling Aboriginal communities

'One drop of Palestinian blood is more valuable than the treasures of the world.'

KING ABDULLAH OF SAUDI ARABIA, on donating \$1 billion to rebuild Gaza

'No one should say that I threw the first stone at Obama. He threw it at me.'

HUGO CHAVEZ, Venezuelan President, saying Obama had the "same stench" as George W. Bush, after Obama accused Chávez of impeding progress in South America



Back & Forth:

Gitmo

'His treatment met the legal definition of torture.'

SUSAN CRAWFORD, who oversees military trials at Guantánamo Bay, on why she halted the case of Mohammed al-Qahtani, a suspected 9/11 mastermind

'Some of the aggressive questioning techniques used on Qahtani, although permissible at the time, are no longer allowed.'

THE PENTAGON, saying more restrictive policies have been adopted since al-Qahtani was interrogated in 2002



Media

'Everyone understands that the Pentagon gives out information that is not harmful to its interests.'

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT INSPECTOR GENERAL, in a report that found no wrongdoing in the Pentagon's public relations program, which used retired officers as military analysts for NBC and other media outlets

'To say there are factual inaccuracies in this report is the understatement of the century.'

REPRESENTATIVE PAUL W. HODES, Democrat of New Hampshire, calling the report a "parting gift of the Pentagon to the President."

Fashion

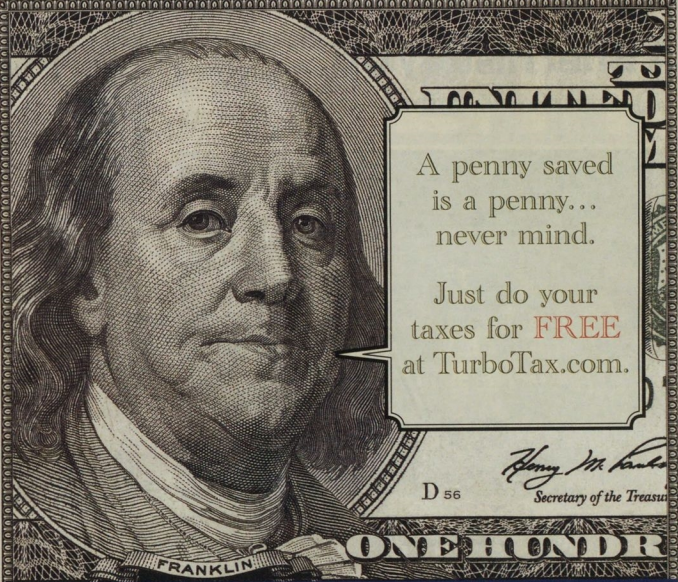
'Now they copy. Later they will learn.'

Style icon **GIORGIO ARMANI**, accusing fellow Italian designers Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana of stealing his concept of padded trousers

'Surely we still have much to learn, but definitely not from him.'

DOLCE AND GABBANA, saying Armani "never has been an inspiration source for us and we stopped seeing his fashion shows years ago."





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A Brief History Of:

The Super Bowl Halftime Show



ABOUT 100 MILLION PEOPLE IN 232 COUNTRIES ARE expected to tune in for Super Bowl XLIII on Feb. 1, and the game's intermission will be as tightly scripted as its opening drives. The Super Bowl halftime show has evolved into a strobe-lit, confetti-strewn spectacle that, depending on your penchant for pageantry, is either a tribute to the Super Bowl's majesty or a monument to a culture of excess.

Halftime festivities were once modest affairs. Collegiate bands did the honors at 1967's inaugural Super Bowl and at several other early clashes. In 1976 the nonprofit organization and performance group Up with People—lamboned on *The Simpsons* as Hooray for Everything—began a cloying stretch of dominance that included four performances in 11 years. But as viewership swelled, from 24 million for Super Bowl I to 92 million two decades later, the game's rotating cast of producers began hiring brighter stars. Which isn't to say the shows got better: Gloria Estefan, Brian Boitano and Dorothy Hamill made a particularly mismatched lineup in 1992, as did Michael Jackson and a group of 3,500 children the following year. The show's most memorable glitch, of course, wasn't a casting choice: Janet Jackson's infamous wardrobe snafu in 2004 sparked an FCC crackdown on racy content and prompted networks to go to tape delay for major live events.

Most recently, the Super Bowl has been a Valhalla for the graying gods of rock 'n' roll: Paul McCartney, Tom Petty, the Rolling Stones and Prince have all been trotted out to fend off the annual halftime bathroom run. This year's headliner will be Bruce Springsteen. The Boss is keeping his set list under wraps, but it's a pretty safe bet his nipple won't make an appearance. —BY ALEX ALTMAN

All-star team Houston Oilers QB Warren Moon shares the stage with Minnie and some wide-eyed youngsters in 1991

LET US ENTERTAIN YOU

1970 After three years of bands from the universities of Arizona and Michigan, Grambling and Florida A&M, actress and singer Carol Channing becomes the show's first solo act



1989 At Super Bowl XXIII in Miami, local dancers perform in the last halftime show without a big-name headliner

1998 Smokey Robinson, the Temptations, Martha Reeves, Queen Latifah and Boyz II Men lead a Motown-themed bash

2004 Nipplegate! Janet Jackson's "wardrobe malfunction" triggers a scrub over television indecency



THE SKIMMER



The Inheritance: The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to American Power

By David E. Sanger
Harmony; 528 pages

SANGER'S BEHIND-THE-SCENES account of the Bush Administration's foreign policy is laced with scoops and secret conversations about a world spinning out of America's control. He tracks scientists in Pakistan trying to keep nuclear material out of al-Qaeda's hands; commandos at Fort Bragg blasting a Cabinet official for the lack of a strategy to get Osama bin Laden; and Condoleezza Rice telling George W. Bush, "I don't think you can invade another Muslim country ... even for the best of reasons." Sanger uncovers a sheaf of covert operations, like an effort to sabotage Iran's nuclear program, but concludes that Bush was too rigid and unimaginative to react to challenges beyond Iraq: "The 'decider' became the ditherer." As a result, Barack Obama faces an Iran "that is getting the Bomb," a war in Afghanistan that will keep U.S. troops tied down "for decades to come" and a nuclear-armed Pakistan "more unstable than ever." Obama's task is "to get the world growing again and to get the most imminent threats dealt with fast." Over to you, Mr. President.

—BY ROMESH RATNESAR

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Pop Chart



PAUL BLART: MALL COP breaks dog-movie stranglehold on American box office



Bearded homeless man claiming to be **JOAQUIN PHOENIX** embarks on rap career



GOSSIP GIRL spin-off to focus on mother in '80s L.A. Prediction: rich girl hates parents, meets bad boy, gets preggers



PRISON BREAK is canceled three seasons after the characters actually broke out of prison



Teen *American Idol* also ran **SANJAYA** to release memoir



ALEX TREBEK to host Canada's *Next Prime Minister* reality show. Look fierce, Jean Chrétien!

BOY GEORGE sentenced to 15 months in jail. They are really going to hurt him



SHOCKING

The Wire's **STRINGER BELL** to star as **MICHAEL SCOTT**'s Office rival; will introduce hilarious heroin subplot



Vatican to get YouTube channel. Lazy Sundays all around



JACKIE CHAN as Mr. Miyagi? Paint the fence, wax on, jump off 17-story building



Sympathetic **MIKE TYSON** documentary screens at Sundance. Watch it, or he'll eat your soul



LOST

PREDICTABLE

JENNIFER HUDSON to sing national anthem at Super Bowl



Broadway producers file grievance against **JEREMY (SUSHI) PIVEN**



Continuing streak of penitent '90s hip-hop stars, jailed **DMX** hopes to become pastor after release

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

Christie's to auction off 1985 *Playboy* pic of very, very naked **MADONNA**. In other words, nothing we haven't already seen



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Milestones



Andrew Wyeth

THE GREAT PROBLEM OF American art, Andrew Wyeth, died Jan. 16 at 91 at his home in Chadds Ford, Pa. He was a problem first because he so completely refused to be modern in any terms the art world cared about. Long after it was no longer fashionable to practice a flinty, granular realism, Wyeth's brushwork specified the world in almost molecular detail. But even

worse was his popularity, which was enormous. Until the other Andy—Warhol—came along, Wyeth and Norman Rockwell were the two most widely recognized names in American art.

Wyeth's skills as a draftsman—and maybe as a showman—are owed to his boisterous, demanding father, the gifted illustrator N.C. Wyeth. Andrew also had a knack for self-promotion that came to a head with the curious case of the so-called Helga pictures—a cache of some 240 “undiscovered” portraits and nudes, featuring his sister's married housekeeper. Insinuations of a secret affair (which the painter

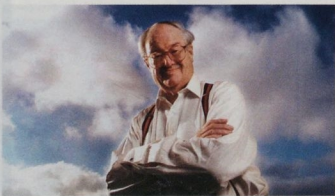


Christina's World The painting made Wyeth a household name

later admitted never occurred) put Wyeth on the cover of *TIME* and his work in the National Gallery of Art.

Still, the quiet sparseness of his pictures—and of the people in them, with their Yankee rectitude and their Nordic inwardness—seems to belong to some prelapsarian America, predating automobiles and television.

Wyeth's most famous canvas, *Christina's World*, hangs in a marginal anteroom in New York City's Museum of Modern Art; Christina, splayed across a field and gazing toward a house on the horizon, could easily be looking at MOMA itself—the citadel she has not entirely entered, even if she is inside. But the canons of art history have loosened in recent decades, enough so that no full picture of the modern era can exclude Wyeth's legacy. Who knows? Someday MOMA may even bring Christina in from the cold. —BY RICHARD LACAYO



John Mortimer

AT THEIR THEATRICAL BEST, lawyers are star actors who write their own lines, improvise to meet the occasion and use the courtroom as a stage to declaim on matters of life and death. Sir John Mortimer, who died at 85 on Jan. 16, was an Oxford-trained barrister (and the son of a barrister) who proved

adept at arguing his cases both in his fiction and in real life.

He gained early notice with 1957's *The Dock Brief*, a comic tale of an inept counsel. It was done on radio, TV and stage, then filmed with Peter Sellers. The autobiographical *A Voyage Round My Father* starred Alec Guinness on a West End stage and Laurence Olivier on TV.

A natural performer, he looked a bit like Leo McKern, who played Mortimer's most famous barrister, the blustery, homespun Horace Rumpole of the Bailey. The TV series ran in England, off and on, from 1978 to 1992 and repeated its successes in the U.S.

In his legal career, Mortimer was as eloquent defending others' words as he was in choosing his own. He won obituary cases for the publisher of *Last Exit to Brooklyn* and for Virgin Records, defending the Sex Pistols' debut album.

His wife of 22 years, until their divorce in 1971, was the novelist Penelope Mortimer; of course they both wrote tart books about their scrappy union. For John Mortimer, marriage was another stage on which to pursue great, painful debates. —BY RICHARD CORLISS

DIED “I am not a number. I am a free man,” said No. 6

on the 1960s CBS program *The Prisoner*. **Patrick McGoochan, 80**,



played the former spy who had resigned his position only to be mysteriously imprisoned. McGoochan also wrote and directed some episodes.

■ The Pulitzer Prize-winning author of more than 30 books of poetry and criticism, **W.D. Snodgrass, 83**, taught for nearly half his life. “If you can be happy doing something else, do it,” he would tell his students about the love of poetry. “But if you’ve got to do [poetry], you’re a life term.”

■ One of television's most famous odd couples appeared on the ABC show *Fantasy Island*: Hervé Villechaise as **Tattoo** and **Ricardo Montalban, 88**, as **Mr. Roarke**—



two dream makers at a remote resort in the Pacific. Montalban, a champion of Latinos in the entertainment

industry, founded the advocacy group *Nosotros* in 1971.

■ At age 7 she began keeping notebooks that she filled with the events in her life. **Hortense Calisher, 97**,



later wove those memories into works of fiction that explored the theme of isolation within families.

ANNOUNCED Beijing declared March 28—the 50th anniversary of the Dalai Lama's flight from Tibet—a new holiday: **Serfs' Emancipation Day**, to mark the end of the “system of feudal oppression” China cites in defense of its invasion of Tibet in 1959.

SENTENCED Australian writer **Harry Nicolaides, 41**, received three years in prison in Thailand for breaking strict lese-majesté laws after insulting the Thai king in a self-published novel.



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Joel

Stein

Super Joel Sunday. With the odds against him, can a gritty, overachieving columnist inspire a football team to great heights?

OTHER KIDS WANTED TO BE RUDY, ROCKY or Seabiscuit; my dream was to be the guy who gave those inspirational sports heroes a motivational speech. I could be responsible for great triumph without having to work out, get punched or spend my retirement having sex with females chosen by other people. I see a less Hefneresque retirement for myself.

But I've never had the opportunity to give that great speech, since people—even the nice people who run TIME's softball team and whose most threatening competitor is the *Village Voice*—keep me far away from crucial sports moments. But a true champion doesn't wait for destiny, he destinies for wait! I had a long way to go.

For my training, I turned to former Pittsburgh Steelers coach Bill Cowher, who won Super Bowl XL. Cowher explained that every great speech has to present players with a challenge, a plan to meet that challenge and an incentive for meeting that challenge. Then he retold the most effective speech he ever gave to a team. "When Christopher Columbus left and got on the boat, everyone told him not to go because the world is flat and he's going to fall off the face of the earth," began Cowher. I realized then that there is probably a good deal of history that would be new to professional football players. But Cowher ended the Columbus speech with a great line: "You can't allow history to determine your future. But you can let the future determine your history." I'm not exactly sure what that means, but it did make me want to hit someone

really hard while they're running for a field goal.

Amazingly, Cowher said it was not a problem that I don't know anything about football. "They've heard all the football things. What can be more intriguing to them is what you do." So together we crafted a story from journalism, and then, with nothing but a dream, grit and a connection at the NFL



Network, I went off to try my speech on famous football players.

I started with seven-time Pro Bowler, NFL Network analyst and Super Bowl XXXIV winner Marshall Faulk. "It won't work on me," said Faulk before I even started. "I've never sat there and really paid attention to what was being said. If I'm playing in the Super Bowl, and I've dreamed about it as a kid, what's the inspirational speech for? It's like giving Barack Obama a speech right before the Inauguration. I'm going to get you motivated, Barack! Are you serious?" This was not the inspirational speech a man needed before delivering an inspirational speech.

Still, I took a deep breath and told Faulk about a scrappy, overachieving journalist who was given three days to put together a cover story about George

Clooney—a man who had been covered in every way, from every possible angle. Every idea that the journalist came up with—such as a poker game with Clooney's friends—the actor shot down. So this journalist took a risk that no other celebrity profiler had ever taken: he invited Clooney over to his house for dinner. And the journalist cooked and cooked, and maybe the rack of lamb he undercooked, but he got that cover story. Big days, I told Faulk, require taking big chances. There was silence on the other end. "That's a great story," Faulk said. "My question would be, if that's your story, what the hell are you doing coaching?"

But if you were getting your editing crew going, that would work great." I felt pretty good until I realized you can get an editing crew going with free pizza.

Wanting to test my speech on someone who had actually listened to a motivational speech before, I called Rod Woodson, an 11-time Pro Bowler, NFL Network analyst and Super Bowl XXXV winner. "Everybody is not Marshall," Woodson said. "A lot of guys under pressure can fall to pieces if someone is not kicking them in the rear to get them going." I gave Woodson the old Clooney rallying speech, and the disadvantages of having an audience who listens

became clear. "I'd give it a C minus," said Woodson. "You need a little more emotion behind it." For a model, he suggested I listen to a tape of retired Giants defensive end Michael Strahan before last year's NFC Championship game in Green Bay. "He said, 'It's cold out here. It's freezing. I can't feel my toes. But it's temporary. Winning is forever.' That's a good one." I couldn't believe man versus nature could trump man versus stale celebrity-interview tropes. Then I remembered that these guys have probably never read Jack London.

So I'm working on a new speech, one about a guy who battles wind and snow to see a movie at Sundance he heard had a sweet after-party that Virginia Madsen might attend. If the Steelers or the Cardinals are interested, I can motivate myself to Tampa in a second.

'It won't work on me,' said Faulk before I even started. This was not the inspirational speech a man needed before delivering an inspirational speech

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Pop Goes Washington. The new President embodies a changing culture. But can he change the culture's tone too?

HOW DO YOU KNOW WHEN A PRESIDENT is a pop-culture fixture? When he becomes a can of soda. During the coverage of Barack Obama's swearing-in, Pepsi showed off a new advertising campaign that audaciously hopes to benefit from his buzz. Brandishing graphics similar to Obama's CHANGE ads and a new logo not unlike his red-white-and-blue O, the spots declared, "Yes you can"—get it? *can?*—and announced, "Every generation refreshes the world."

Joining Pepsi's quest for O-mentum are advertisers like Audi ("Progress is beautiful") and Ikea ("Embrace change"). Trying to make a buck off the zeitgeist is an old story, but these ads also capture a particular mood of today. America right now is like some kind of agitated subatomic particle holding two opposite charges at once: dread and excitement. Just so, these ads convey both desperation—someone, please, buy something!—and the thrilling sense that a big change is afoot in the country's mind-set.

All around, there's a sense of pop culture trying to find its way toward the next thing, the new tone, whatever it might be. On 24, Jack Bauer is getting philosophical about torture. *American Idol* is trying to be nicer to its bad singers. Even Clint Eastwood's hit *Gran Torino*—in which a racist retiree snarls at Asian gang bangers to "get off my lawn" as he protects a young Hmong neighbor—is ultimately not the reactionary return of Dirty Harry but the 20th century grouchy giving way to the 21st.

To say that the culture is changing with President Obama's election is not to say that he has *made* it change. That may be a

taller order for a President than rescuing an auto industry. Cultural trends have a life span, and some of the Bush era's—reality TV, say, or terrorism dramas or slasher movies—may just be tired out. Bush didn't create them, but they helped set and capture a tone in the country after 9/11: wary, on edge, in your face.

But a President can tap into changes in the culture and encourage them.



When Obama rejected, in his Inaugural speech, the "stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long," he was rejecting an attitude—of baby-boom cultural warfare, of cable shouting matches, of all-or-nothing showdowns—and betting that his audience was tired of them too.

As a mixed-race President, Obama literally embodies a changing culture. Every stand-up routine about the differences between black folks and white folks is visibly lamer than it already was. But that's not just because Obama is half-black and half-white; it's because he is neither typically black (he comes out of the immigrant, not the slave, experience) nor typically white. Like *Slumdog Millionaire* or a mash-up CD, Obama represents a crossing of cultures. His story makes a larger argument: that nothing

is as simple as it's made out to be. Black and white is not simply black and white. And neither, therefore, are our eternal us-vs.-them arguments over faith, sex or war.


You could see this mood reflected in *We Are One*, the Inaugural concert aired on HBO. Bruce Springsteen kicked off the show with "The Rising," his 2002 anthem to the heroes of 9/11. The song evolved over the Bush years; it began as a eulogy, then was used as a campaign song by both John Kerry and Obama. Now it played as if America was looking back to the early days after 9/11 and asking for a do-over, to return to the moment before that communal spirit curdled into acrimony.

That concert also showed, though, that you can't just wish acrimony away. There was an immediate controversy when a prayer by gay Episcopal Bishop Gene Robinson was left off the HBO broadcast. There's a whole talk-show industry devoted to feeding those "stale political arguments." And we've seen overblown predictions before that events would ennoble American culture—see, again, 9/11.

But if Obama can turn a feel-good moment into improbable changes in our discourse, he might be helped by something that helped him pull off an improbable win: the Internet. It's true that new media have helped polarize politics by creating echo chambers of agreement. But the kind of social media the Obama campaign used, like Facebook, also help people broaden their spheres and see how they are connected with people who are different from them. And they're popular among the same young people who are turned off by the old political dualisms and categories.

Some of us, of course, will believe that change when we see it. Maybe we're the ones Obama had in mind when he said, "What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them." Whether Obama can affect that shift—and where those tectonic plates carry him, and us—is the next big story of our frightened, giddy culture. ■

In his Inaugural speech, Obama was rejecting an attitude—of cultural warfare, of cable shouting matches, of all-or-nothing showdowns



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but it isn't fair.

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There are many fine sparkling wines, but only those originating in the chalky hills of Champagne, France can bear that region's name. A legal loophole allows some U.S. wines to masquerade as "Champagne." Even names of American wine regions like Napa Valley and Walla Walla Valley are also misused.

Unmask the truth. Demand accurate labeling. Sign the petition at www.champagne.us.



Champagne *only* comes from Champagne, France.



At the threshold Barack Obama gathers his thoughts one final time before stepping onto the stage in front of the Capitol to assume the presidency



'We Are Ready To Lead'

—BARACK OBAMA
The 44th President of the United States



Living history To the millions on the Mall and beyond, the country's first African-American President calls for a "new era of responsibility."



Photograph for TIME by Vincent Laforet



Joe

Klein

A New Destiny. Barack Obama's Inauguration showed the world a more sober, civil and exuberant America

"I, BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA, DO SOLEMNLY swear ..." Well, nothing was more stunning and cathartic than those few words. Not the remarkable American diorama—in all its polychromatic wonder—spread out for miles on the National Mall in Washington. Not the clear, sober cadences of our new President's Inaugural Address. Not the prayers and tears, the unstoppable smiles and barely controlled giddiness of what may have been the happiest crowd ever to grace the nation's capital. A man named Barack Hussein Obama is now the President of the United States. He came to us as the ultimate outsider in a nation of outsiders—the son of an African visitor and a white woman from Kansas—and he has turned us inside out. That he leads us now is a breathtaking statement of American open-mindedness and, yes, our native liberality. Even before his first act as President, and no matter how he fares in the office, he stands as a singular event in our history.

And let it be recorded that Obama's first act as President was to correct Chief Justice John Roberts, who managed somehow to mangle the 35-word oath of office, misplacing the word *faithfully*, as in "faithfully execute the office of President ..." Roberts then mangled it a second time, Obama raised an eyebrow, and Roberts moved on, a bumpy beginning and something of a metaphor: one of the new President's functions will be to correct the mistakes of George W. Bush's benighted tenure. Obama made that very clear in his sharply worded address, which contained few catchphrases

for the history books but did lay out a coherent and unflinching philosophy of government. Nearly 30 years after Ronald Reagan heralded the onset of his conservative age by saying "Government is the problem," Obama announced the arrival of a prudent new liberalism: "The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small but whether it works—whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified." Conservatives assume such tasks—employment, health care, retirement—are the province of the market. We have had 30 years of paeans to the wonders of free enterprise, but Obama made it clear that markets are not an unalloyed good: "This crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous."

The President announced another clean break with the Bush Administration, on foreign policy. Summoning the wisdom of "earlier generations," he said, "They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please." Take that, Dick Cheney—who exited the scene in a wheelchair, looking grim, as if he were about to foreclose on someone. Obama piled on several foreign policy zingers when he denounced the "false ... choice between our safety and our ideals"—a reference to Bush's harsh treatment of prisoners—and in his message to the world: "We are ready to lead once more."

But the tone of the speech was not defiant or angry, or celebratory, for that matter. It was resolute, suffused with sobriety, reflecting a tough-minded realism at home and abroad. Obama made clear that his domestic liberalism would be enacted conservatively. Where government programs can help, he said, "we intend to move forward." If they are useless or outdated, "programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's

dollars will be held to account—to spend wisely, reform bad habits and do our business in the light of day." Overseas, he warned, "those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents ... You cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you."

Note the simplicity of the words. This is a different Obama from the one who, full of himself last winter, filled his speeches with gaseous oratory like "We are the ones we've been waiting for." The personal transformation has been gradual, subtle—and the words have grown simpler as the economy collapsed and the full weight of office began to press in on him. The preternatural calm that seemed an attractive part of his personality during the primaries became his dominant



By the tone and style of his move to power, Obama has shown the world a new, gloriously unexpected and vibrant face of our country

To protect and defend In a holding room at the Capitol moments before the Inauguration, Obama rehearses the presidential oath with his wife Michelle while her mother Marian looks on



trait in the general election—and the defining principle of his transition. He seems, in the modesty of his rhetoric, to have embarked on a rather bold experiment. "This is going to be a general principle of governing," he told CNN's John King. "No spin, play it straight, describe to the American people the state that we're in."

And that was the oddest aspect of Obama's transition, the lack of pomp and bombast to it. He rarely used the word *I*; he addressed the nation as a community of mature adults. He was all modesty; he asked for better ideas for his monumental stimulus plan (and quickly acceded to Democratic demands that he remove some of the tax breaks for small businesses). He seemed, at every turn, to predict

that he would make mistakes; he did so once more at the congressional lunch immediately after he was sworn in. The cumulative effort of this behavior has been to convey a sense of seriousness—not just in his personal aspect but also in the work of his team. In gestation, this was an Administration marked by attention to detail and a deep appreciation of the intricacies of governance.

In the midst of the transition, President Obama was faced with a telling policy choice: whether to declare a temporary sales-tax holiday. His economic advisers loved the idea. It would provide immediate consumer stimulus, a direct jolt that might unplug the commercial arteries. The money could easily be passed from

the Federal Government to the states, which administer sales taxes. But Obama resisted and, finally, rejected the idea. "He thought it would provide a temporary benefit, that it had no substantial or lasting policy impact," a senior transition adviser told me. "I think he was remembering the campaign, when Hillary and McCain favored the gas-tax holiday, which he thought was frivolous, and he opposed it for that very reason—if we're going to spend money, let's spend it on investments that will make us stronger in the future."

Actually, Obama was resisting in the name of balance: the bulk of his proposed stimulus package will probably go to short-term fixes—his promised \$300 billion in tax breaks for the middle class, \$200 billion in aid to cities and states, benefits for the poor and unemployed. Even so, aides say, most of Obama's attention has been focused elsewhere—on long-term stimulus projects, the larger transformations in the economy, the health-care system and foreign policy. Quietly, the Obama transition team reviewed every government agency "to find out which specific programs were working and which weren't." It was a terrifyingly brisk and comprehensive process, especially compared to the dust storm produced by the last Democratic President, Bill Clinton, during his chaotic transition period. "During Clinton's transition, you had all these people writing ad hoc papers about what to do at this agency or how to deal with that policy, but that was an extension of how Clinton's mind works," says one of the many Obama aides who is a veteran of the Clinton Administration. "Clinton had this great horizontal intelligence. He could pull an idea from a meeting he had in northern Italy and apply it to spreading broadband service through Iowa. It was amazing but not exactly efficient. Obama is more vertical. He pushes the process along, streamlines it. We had one 25-to-50-page policy paper for every agency."

Well, that's Democrats for you. It's hard to imagine any Republican President since Reagan wanting to rummage through all that paper or being fastidious enough to care about the strengths and

Hello, I must be going Obama and Bush bundle up in the foyer of the White House before making the chilly trek to the Capitol for the swearing-in



weaknesses of every federal agency. If government was the problem, as Reagan suggested, the solution, theoretically, was less of it—and since reducing government proved impossible, as opposed to reducing taxes, there didn't seem to be all that much interest in actually making it work more efficiently. By contrast, Obama and his eclectic team of appointees give the impression of being positively intoxicated by the prospect of figuring out how everything works. Obama's closest aides like to say he isn't a "wonk" like Clinton, immersed in policy details to the point of immobility, but clearly the new President has a breadth and depth of policy interests, especially in comparison with his immediate predecessor.

In some ways, the most surprising of his appointments—Hillary Clinton, the new Secretary of State—has emerged

as an exemplar of Obamism. At her confirmation hearing, Clinton seemed completely prepared on every imaginable topic, orderly, undramatic and yet willing to propose some radical changes in the State Department's structure. She seems intent on tilting the department away from its stultifying bureaucratic orthodoxies and toward solving specific problems. To do so, she will appoint no fewer than five, and perhaps more, high-profile special envoys who will do the heavy lifting and share her spotlight on the most vexing foreign policy problems—former Senator George Mitchell to calm down the Middle East, Richard Holbrooke to deal with the Afghanistan-Pakistan nexus, and others for Iran, North Korea, the global-climate-change treaty negotiations and possibly another for the ever forgotten neighbors to her south.

Clinton, who can be spiky, has re-emerged as a natural diplomat. When she heard that Holbrooke and General David Petraeus had never met, she invited them over to her Washington home on a Friday night before the Inauguration. The two men spent two hours in front of a roaring fire with Clinton, getting to know each other, talking about the diplomatic and military division of labor in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Clinton's was an Obamian gesture—enticing the lion to lie down

with the lion—the sort of attention to detail that seems to have been replicated across the policymaking spectrum during the Obama transition.

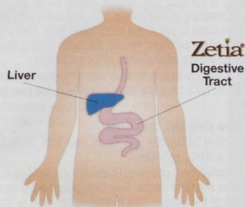
It will be domestic, not foreign, policy that will occupy the President's attention for the next few months. The first order of business will be to shepherd the \$825 billion stimulus package through Congress and ride herd on the additional \$350 billion available to stabilize the banks. But the goal is to press an ambitious series of actions—policies that might have seemed impossible before the financial crash—across the board as quickly as possible. The quest for a national health-insurance system will debut with a major conference, bringing all the various players—including corporate America and the insurance companies—to the table in late winter or early spring. The hope is that a bill to provide universal access, as promised during the campaign, will nudge its way through Congress by next fall. Also coming in the first half of the year will be a comprehensive environmental policy, including some tough decisions on how to go about reducing carbon emissions. If Obama can accomplish any one of these, he will surprise a great many Washington skeptics.

In the latter days of the transition, there seemed an inclination to delay some of the splashy foreign trips that will, in the end, be among the most memorable moments of the Obama presidency. The President will go to Europe in April to attend the next G-20 meeting on the global economic crisis. The steady pitch of crises and atrocities will demand his attention. There are crucial decisions to be made about the pace of withdrawal from Iraq and how many U.S. troops to add in Afghanistan. (Asked about the persistent reports from the Pentagon that up to 30,000 more troops are scheduled for Afghanistan, a senior Obama aide said, "No—repeat, no—decision has been made about troop levels in Afghanistan, and anyone at the Pentagon who says otherwise should be fired.") But foreign policy developments seem destined to take some time, given the new President's proclivities: there will not be the macho kinetics of the Bush years nor the bang-bang nor the bellicose phrases like *axis of evil*. Obama was careful to avoid the phrase *global war on terror* in his Inaugural Address. Instead, there will be a steady drip-drip-drip of diplomacy, especially on neglected issues like nuclear proliferation. Even in the war

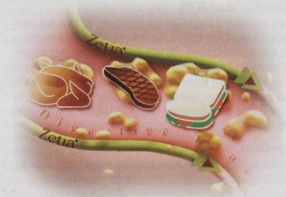
Reagan's movement was called a revolution, but this may be more than that—the beginning of a whole new era of Obama-led citizen involvement

GET THE STORY ON A DIFFERENT WAY TO LOWER CHOLESTEROL.

The most common cholesterol-lowering medicines, statins, are a good option. ZETIA is different.



Statins work mainly with the liver. ZETIA works in the digestive tract, as do some other cholesterol-lowering medicines.



But ZETIA is unique in the way it helps block the absorption of cholesterol that comes from food. Unlike some statins, ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

A healthy diet and exercise are important, but sometimes they're not enough to get your cholesterol where it needs to be. Ask your doctor if ZETIA is right for you.

Important Risk Information About ZETIA:

ZETIA is a prescription medicine and should not be taken by people who are allergic to any of its ingredients. If you have ever had liver problems, are nursing or pregnant or may become pregnant, a doctor will decide if ZETIA alone is right for you.

Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. In clinical studies, patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included diarrhea, joint pains, and tiredness.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.

Zetia[®]
(ezetimibe) Tablets

A different way to help fight cholesterol



To find out if you qualify,
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For more information, call 1-800-98-ZETIA
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ZETIA® (ezetimibe) Tablets

Patient Information about ZETIA (zē't-ē-ā)

Generic name: ezetimibe (ē-zē't-ē-mīb)

Read this information carefully before you start taking ZETIA and each time you get more ZETIA. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about ZETIA, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if ZETIA is right for you.

What is ZETIA?

ZETIA is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol and LDL (bad) cholesterol in the blood. ZETIA is for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet and exercise alone. It can be used by itself or with other medicines to treat high cholesterol. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

ZETIA works to reduce the amount of cholesterol your body absorbs. ZETIA does not help you lose weight. ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

For more information about cholesterol, see the "What should I know about high cholesterol?" section that follows.

Who should not take ZETIA?

- Do not take ZETIA if you are allergic to ezetimibe, the active ingredient in ZETIA, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section that follows.
- If you have active liver disease, do not take ZETIA while taking cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins.
- If you are pregnant or breast-feeding, do not take ZETIA while taking a statin.
- If you are a woman of childbearing age, you should use an effective method of birth control to prevent pregnancy while using ZETIA added to statin therapy.

ZETIA has not been studied in children under age 10.

What should I tell my doctor before and while taking ZETIA?

Tell your doctor about any prescription and non-prescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies. Tell your doctor if you:

- ever had liver problems. ZETIA may not be right for you.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Your doctor will discuss with you whether ZETIA is right for you.
- are breast-feeding. We do not know if ZETIA can pass to your baby through your milk. Your doctor will discuss with you whether ZETIA is right for you.
- experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness.

How should I take ZETIA?

- Take ZETIA once a day, with or without food. It may be easier to remember to take your dose if you do it at the same time every day, such as with breakfast, dinner, or at bedtime. If you also take another medicine to reduce your cholesterol, ask your doctor if you can take them at the same time.
- If you forget to take ZETIA, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take more than one dose of ZETIA a day.
- Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking ZETIA. Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking ZETIA unless your doctor tells you to stop. It is important that you keep taking ZETIA even if you do not feel sick.

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking ZETIA with a statin and during treatment.

What are the possible side effects of ZETIA?

In clinical studies patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included diarrhea, joint pains, and feeling tired.

Patients have experienced severe muscle problems while taking ZETIA, usually when ZETIA was added to a statin drug. If you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness while taking ZETIA, contact your doctor immediately. You need to do this promptly, because on rare occasions, these muscle problems can be serious, with muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.

Additionally, the following side effects have been reported in general use: allergic reactions (which may require treatment right away) including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing, rash, and hives; joint pain; muscle aches; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; inflammation of the pancreas; nausea; dizziness; tingling sensation; depression; gallstones; inflammation of the gallbladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on ZETIA. For a complete list of side effects, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

What should I know about high cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a type of fat found in your blood. Your total cholesterol is made up of LDL and HDL cholesterol.

LDL cholesterol is called "bad" cholesterol because it can build up in the wall of your arteries and form plaque. Over time, plaque build-up can cause a narrowing of the arteries. This narrowing can slow or block blood flow to your heart, brain, and other organs. High LDL cholesterol is a major cause of heart disease and one of the causes for stroke.

HDL cholesterol is called "good" cholesterol because it keeps the bad cholesterol from building up in the arteries.

Triglycerides also are fats found in your blood.

General information about ZETIA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use ZETIA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ZETIA to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about ZETIA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about ZETIA that is written for health professionals.

Inactive ingredients:

Croscarmellose sodium, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, povidone, and sodium lauryl sulfate.



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zones, the Obama Administration will be talking relentlessly—trying to bring the nonextremist Taliban tribes into the Afghan government, trying to establish coalitions of Iraq's and Afghanistan's neighbors (including Iran) to help lower the tensions, hoping the steady accretion of talk and trust will bring the Israelis and Palestinians to a point where they can begin negotiating a real peace.

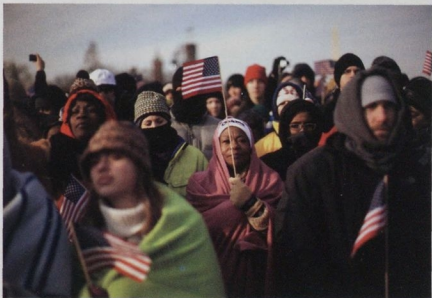
It is likely that when Obama said, "We only have one President at a time" during the transition, he actually meant, "I disagree with George Bush on that one." After all, he wasn't reticent about making his views known on the economic crisis or the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. The breaks with the past will be subtle but emphatic: I suspect an Obama Administration would have voted for the U.N.'s Gaza cease-fire resolution rather than abstaining as Bush's did. But all this will be done diplomatically. American foreign policy will be a direct reflection of the man who is now President—quiet, conciliatory, civilized.

Toward the end of the campaign, Michelle Obama asked me if I was going to write a novel about them like *Primary Colors*, my satiric account of the 1992 presidential race. I was at a loss for words, in part because the thought hadn't even vaguely crossed my mind. "He can't write a novel about us," Barack Obama reassured his wife. "We're too boring."

Yes... and no. It's hard to call the most exciting politician in decades boring. The millions who trekked to Washington for the Inauguration, who cried their eyes out and cheered their lungs raw, are testimony to the man's sheer inspirational power. Reagan's movement was called a revolution, but this may be more than that—the beginning of a whole new era of Obama-inspired and Obama-led citizen involvement. During the transition, the Obama website called for supporters to hold community meetings to discuss their health-care priorities. A staggering 10,000 meetings purportedly were held; 5,000

The sheer fun of the Inauguration, the world-record number of interracial hugs and kisses, augurs a new heterodox cultural energy, a nation—as the man said—of mutts

We are one Over 1 million people filled the Mall, waiting in the frigid air—the windchill brought the temperature to about 17°—to hear Obama's Inaugural Address



sent written reports—more paper!—to the transition office. This is a new kind of politics, with the potential to be the most powerful citizen army in U.S. history. If so, it will more likely be a force for civility—for "boring" things like good governance, for new ideas about how to control the cost of entitlements (which Obama pointedly mentioned in his speech)—rather than a rabble spamming the offices of recalcitrant Republicans. It will fit neatly into the Obama zeitgeist.

By the tone and style of his move to power, Obama has shown the world—and the people living in Sarah Palin's small-town America, and even many liberals who had lost hope over time—a new, gloriously unexpected and vibrant face of our country. The sheer fun of the Inauguration, the world-record number of interracial hugs and kisses, augurs a new heterodox cultural energy, a nation—as the man said—of mutts. Already the Obama ethos is slipping into the nation's cultural bloodstream—not just the interraciality but also the mind-blowing normality of the family: the fact that Michelle Obama gave Laura Bush a going-away present, the fact that Sasha and Malia will make their own beds in the White House, the fact that our President proudly wears a Chicago White Sox baseball cap when he goes to the gym.

Even more important, Obama promises a respite from the nonstop anger of the recent American political wars, the beginning of an era of civility, if not comity. "What the cynics fail to understand," he said in his speech, "is that the ground has shifted beneath them—that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply."

It would be nice to think the magnitude of the problems facing the nation would lead to a minimum of puerile contentiousness, but vile still seems to be the default position for some of Obama's noisier detractors—OBAMA FLUBS THE OATH WAS the inaccurate headline greeting the new President on the Drudge Report. Too many of us in the media remain reluctant "to set aside childish things." Happily, though, our new President seems to have an honest predilection for treating his opponents with respect. He seems intent on hearing their points of view and arguing, decorously, with them—that's why he accepted a dinner invitation at conservative columnist George Will's house. This is radical behavior in the village on the Potomac. It could force everyone to argue more carefully, to think twice before casting aspersions, to remember that the goal has to be more than temporal electoral victories—but, in this moment of peril, a better and stronger nation, a less ugly and dangerous world. ■



★ INAUGURATION

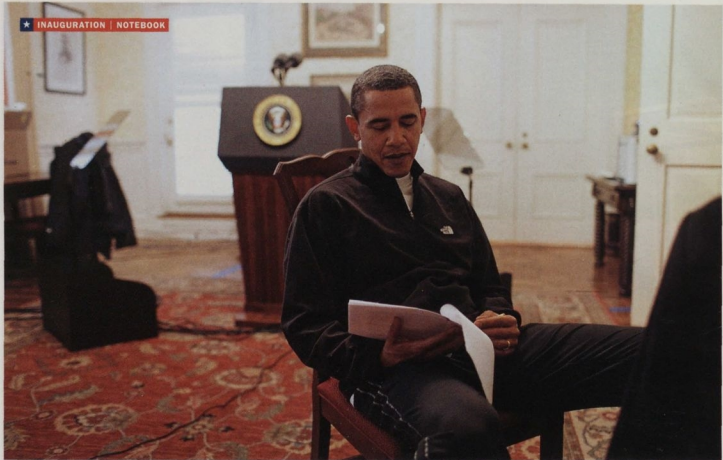
Photographer's Notebook

TIME's Callie Shell provides a behind-the-scenes glimpse of a family on the edge of history



Reflecting history President-elect Barack Obama, in a Capitol holding room, prepares to become the first African-American President





Editor in chief On Jan. 19 at Blair House, the government's official guest residence, the President-elect tinkers with his Inauguration speech



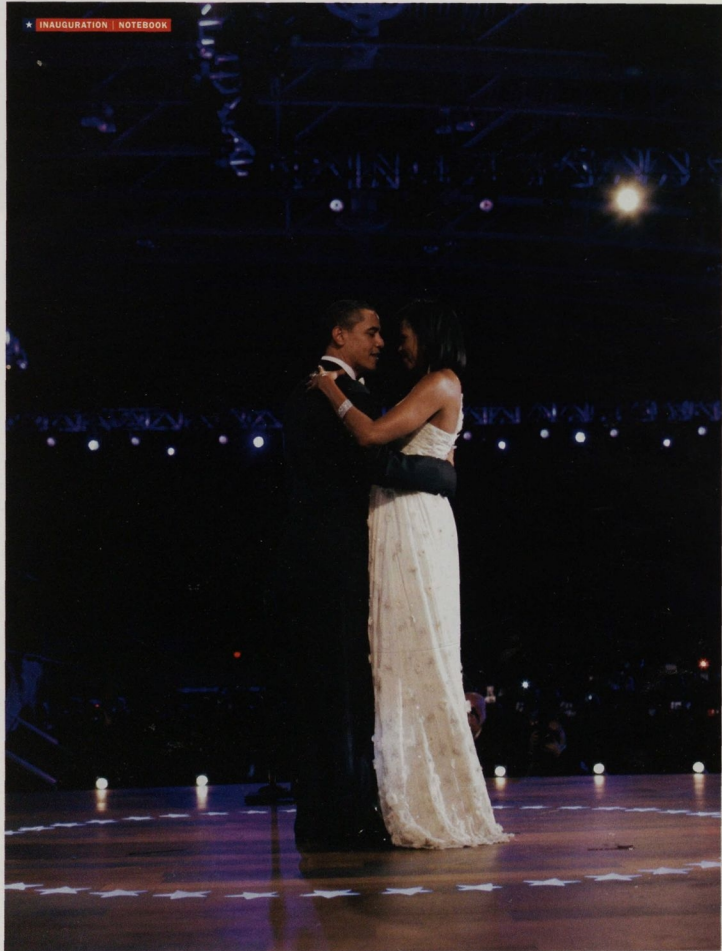
Man of the people Obama shares a moment with a server during a morning coffee meeting with George W. Bush



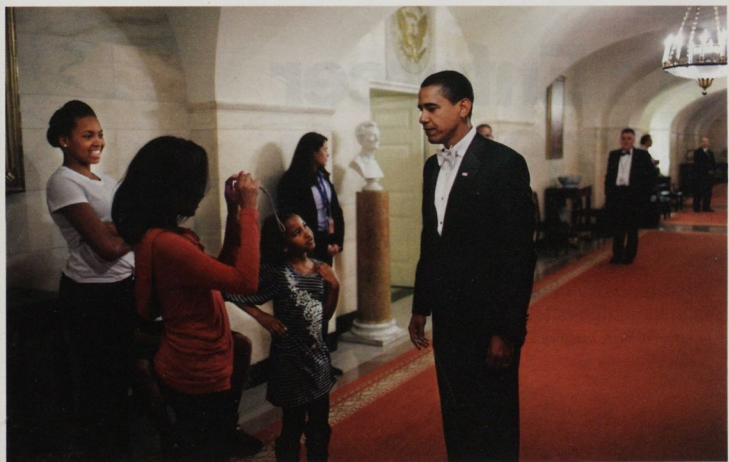
First Lady summit At the White House, Michelle Obama and Laura Bush admire a painting, by an African-American artist, that the Bushes acquired



Family ties The new President shows daughter Malia a White House portrait of Ronald Reagan while the First Lady ties her younger daughter Sasha's shoes



"At Last" Serenaded by Beyoncé singing the Etta James classic, the President and First Lady enjoy their first Inaugural Night dance at the Neighborhood Ball



Family album First Daughter Malia, who snapped her own record of Inauguration events, adds another image of the President, on his way to the balls



Down to business Six hours after getting home from the balls, Obama makes his first official call. This is the first Oval Office picture of the President

An Enforcer Named Emanuel

Barack Obama tapped Rahm Emanuel, a fierce infighter, as his chief of staff. Is he cool enough to manage a high-octane White House team?

BY KAREN TUMULTY AND MICHAEL SCHERER

WHEN A DOZEN FORMER White House chiefs of staff met for breakfast a month after the election to give the incoming guy some advice, the old-timer among them had some special, reassuring words for Rahm Emanuel. Former Bush Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who had been a White House chief of staff under Gerald Ford, noted that Emanuel has a leg up on some of his predecessors. Unlike many chiefs of staff, Emanuel comes to the job with the experience of having been a power player on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. "You've been here before, so you know the place," Rumsfeld told him. "And you've been on Capitol Hill, which is so important."

Emanuel was only half joking when he

answered, "Those are also my liabilities."

The new White House chief of staff modestly recalled Rumsfeld's statement earlier this week to *TIME* while rushing between pre-Inaugural events. It's fair to say all of Washington is wondering just how Emanuel is going to fare in what has long been the second hardest job in Washington. Emanuel honed his political skills as a top aide to Bill Clinton in the White House, where he was instrumental in shepherding the North American Free Trade Agreement and welfare reform through Congress. After a stint in investment banking in Chicago, Emanuel returned to Washington as an Illinois Congressman, rose quickly through the House leadership and masterminded the Democrats' takeover of the House in 2006.

Though they hail from the same state, the new President and his chief of staff are an unusual pair. Two years before Barack Obama was elected President, Emanuel jokingly noted as much in a speech at Washington's annual white-tie Gridiron Club dinner: "Senator Obama and I don't just share a home state. We also share exotic names that were given to us by our fathers—Barack, which in Swahili means 'blessed,' and Rahm, which, roughly translated from Hebrew, means 'go screw yourself.'"

A foulmouthed showman and backroom infighter, Emanuel has been known to manage, motivate and intimidate by standing on a table and screaming. And yet the early signs of how he will be running things at the no-drama Obama White House are auspicious: Emanuel, 49, has run the smoothest presidential transition in modern history. Obama "is thrilled with him," says David Axelrod, the President's chief political strategist. "He has said he's sure he made the right decision on this one."

Obama insiders credit the new chief of staff for many of the transition team's more agile moves. Take the agonizing choice of a Secretary of the Treasury. Obama's personal inclination was to tap New York Federal Reserve chief Timothy Geithner, who had been intricately involved in devising last year's \$700 billion financial-bailout package. But he also wanted the expertise of the ferociously brainy Larry Summers, who had held the Treasury job and wanted it again. So Obama and Emanuel worked out a deal to get both by convincing Summers to take a post inside the White House as director of the National Economic Council. As a top Obama White House aide put it, "A lot of this was making people understand that

'You say no most of the time and let the President say yes. Rahm will always have the backbone to say no.'

—ERSKINE BOWLES, FORMER WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF

The new boss At the intersection of politics and policy—and a lot of incoming arrows



Photograph for TIME by Christopher Morris—VII

there was a lot of work to go around and you could be a valuable member of the team."

And there were those—including Summers—who advised Obama not to get too heavily involved in economic policy-making before his Inauguration. Better to let George W. Bush take ownership of the worst recession since the Great Depression so that the new President would be viewed as a fresh start. Emanuel believed, however, that Obama couldn't wait. He was adamant that the President-elect lay out not only his plan but also a specific goal—up to 4 million new jobs.

While Republicans greeted the news that Emanuel would take the White House helm with some trepidation, he has since surprised many of the worried by courting them. One of his first meetings on Capitol Hill after taking the job was with the Senate GOP leadership. "He gave us all his personal cell-phone" number, said Nevada Senator John Ensign. "He said he promised to get back to us on issues within 24 hours." But Emanuel cannot count on these moments of goodwill to last for long. The position is not one for anybody who craves job security. Typically, chiefs of staff burn out or are eased out in less than two-and-a-half years. The last one to survive an entire presidency was John R. Steelman, a onetime hobo who held the post for six years under Harry Truman, at a time when the staff was much smaller and the job title was "assistant to the President of the United States."

Nor is it easy to see a big personality like Emanuel blending into the background—a quality every bit as important as top-notch organizational and political skills to being a successful chief of staff. The best of them are the ones who, by all outward appearances, have no motives or identity outside those of the President. "You are hired for your judgment. You are not hired with an independent agenda," explains Ken Duberstein, who held the job for six months under Ronald Reagan. "When you speak, the voice people hear is the President's voice, not your own." Indeed, if you ever hear anything at all about the chief of staff, that is probably not a good sign. (See also *Sinunu, John*.)

Referee and Gatekeeper

THE SON OF A JERUSALEM-BORN PEDIATRICIAN and a psychiatric social worker, Emanuel grew up in the Chicago suburb of Wilmette. His is a high-achieving family: one brother, Ari, is a renowned Hollywood agent who inspired a character on the television series *Entourage*. His other brother, Ezekiel, is an influential bioethicist who will advise the Obama Administration on health policy.

Rahm, the middle child, studied ballet before serving a stint as a volunteer at an Israeli supply base (though a myth has grown that he actually served in the Israeli army). After that, he went into political fundraising—first for Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley and then for a little-known Arkansas Governor named Bill Clinton, who chose him to be White House political director after Clinton was elected in 1992. It was the first of a series of jobs Emanuel would hold in the Clinton White House before leaving in 1999 for the investment firm Wasserstein, Perella & Co., where he reportedly made a hefty \$18 million in just two years.

As chief of staff, Emanuel will have to

Emanuel is the first to acknowledge that every one of the qualifications he brings to the job can be a liability if not managed correctly

act as a traffic cop, referee and gatekeeper, deciding which decisions go to the President and which don't and guarding against end runs to the Oval Office. That's not exactly a formula for making or keeping friends. "You say no most of the time and let the President say yes," says Erskine Bowles, who held the chief of staff job and worked alongside Emanuel in the Clinton White House. "Rahm will always have the backbone to say no." But just as crucial is making sure that once he does, the bickering stops.

Adding to the management challenges ahead is the fact that Obama and Emanuel have brought into the White House an unusually high-octane team. It includes such muscular operatives as Summers and National Security Adviser Jim Jones, a retired Marine general. In addition, the Administration will have new power centers exerting their own gravitational pull. Obama has established a White House office for health reform, to be overseen by incoming Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Daschle, and one for energy and climate-change policy, headed by former Environmental Protection Agency chief Carol Browner. It's still a bit unclear whether all these West Wing czars will be making policy or managing it, or both, but the Cabinet will want its say as well. "They have a lot of big brains and big personalities with

what appears to be overlapping portfolios," says Josh Bolten, who was George W. Bush's chief of staff for nearly three years. "I believe that will be one of Rahm's biggest challenges."

Emanuel's sea trials have not been entirely smooth. One less than magnanimous gesture that seemed to have Emanuel's fingerprints all over it: former Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean—who waged an epic battle with Emanuel over political strategy during the 2006 election cycle—was not invited to the public announcement in early January of his successor, Virginia Governor Tim Kaine. "I thought it was appalling," a Dean ally says of the snub.

Emanuel was also blamed for the Obama team's failure to notify incoming Senate Intelligence Committee chairwoman Dianne Feinstein before leaking the choice of former Congressman Leon Panetta for Central Intelligence Agency director—a gesture that might have averted Feinstein's huffy declaration that she would have preferred an "intelligence professional" in the job.

Emanuel is a relatively recent addition to Obama's formal brain trust. Torn between his loyalty to the Clintons and the fact that his home-state Senator was running, he stayed on the sidelines during the long and contentious Democratic primary race between Obama and Hillary Clinton, though many observers suspected his sympathies lay with the Chicagoan. Once that battle was over, Emanuel quickly established himself as one of Obama's closest advisers. "He was very helpful," Axelrod recalls. "They have a really candid but respectful relationship. [Obama] knows he can count on Rahm for unvarnished advice." By midsummer, Axelrod says, the President-to-be was privately telling advisers that Emanuel would make an excellent White House chief of staff "if we win this thing."

Looking back on his first stint in the White House, Emanuel says, "If I knew in the first year of the first term what we knew by the first year of the second term, history would have been different." Yet no one knows better than Emanuel that he will have to retool himself in some ways. And he is the first to acknowledge that every one of the qualifications he brings to the job can be a liability if not managed correctly. "I know the place, and I have some knowledge," he says of the White House. "The disadvantage is, I know it around one President. Every President brings a different style of management, a different philosophy, and you've got to get yourself rewired to that." ■

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The Solvency Doctrine

To restore American power, Obama needs a foreign policy that recognizes its limits

WHEN IT COMES TO PREDICTING A President's foreign policy, there are basically two ways to go: you can look at the guy, or you can look at the world. Perspective 1—which is part biography, part psychiatry—is more fun. The problem is that very often a President's past—and even his campaign rhetoric—is not prologue. In 1916, Woodrow Wilson pledged to keep the nation out of war; in 1940, Franklin Roosevelt promised to do the same. Richard Nixon spent his career as a die-hard anticommunist, but in the White House, he opened relations with China and ushered in détente with the U.S.S.R. George W. Bush once said America shouldn't tell the world what to do.

Perspective 2 is more reliable. Instead of looking at the person and extrapolating out, you look at the world he inherits and work back in. The world deals the cards, and a President plays them as best he can.

Barack Obama starts with a bad hand. The Bush Administration didn't just preside over the creation of a financial bubble; it helped build a foreign policy bubble as well. After 9/11, it acted as if America's power were virtually unlimited: our resources were infinite; our military was unstoppable; our ideology was sweeping the world. Bush and Dick Cheney were like homeowners who took on more and more debt, certain that they could cover it because the value of their home would forever rise. They toppled regimes in two countries with little history of competent, representative government. They defined the war on terrorism so broadly that it put the U.S. in conflict not only with al-Qaeda but also with Hizballah and Hamas, with the Shi'ite theocracy in Iran and even with relatively secular autocracies like Syria's. They vowed to no longer tolerate dictatorships in the Middle East, which essentially committed the U.S. to a policy of regime change toward not only our enemies but most of our allies as well.

America's military and ideological commitments grew and grew, far beyond our capacity to carry them out. And now

the power bubble has popped. Militarily, savvy and savage guerrilla movements have learned how to bleed us of money, lives and limbs. Economically, resources are scarce; it's hard to pay to transform the Middle East when we're deep in debt trying to prop up the Midwest. And ideologically, democracy no longer looks like the inevitable destination of all humankind.

In 1943, Walter Lippmann famously wrote that "foreign policy consists in bringing into balance, with a comfortable surplus of power in reserve, the nation's commitments and the nation's power." By that standard, U.S. foreign policy is in Chapter 9. No matter what grand visions Obama may harbor to remake the world, the central mission of his foreign policy—at least at first—will be to get it out of the red. Call it the solvency doctrine.

The Power Deficit

THE MOST ATTRACTIVE WAY TO BALANCE America's commitments and its power, of course, would be to increase the latter—to do the foreign policy equivalent of growing revenues rather than slashing jobs. But the harsh reality is that in the short term, Obama won't be able to dramatically boost U.S. power. He can enlarge the armed forces, as he has pledged to do, but even if he increases the number of troops and repairs the tanks, the top military brass will still be far more reluctant to use them. So will the public, which wants out of Iraq and isn't that gung ho about an indefinite stay in Afghanistan either. As a result, America's ability to threaten new military action—against Iran, for instance, or in Darfur—has dramatically declined. Our

No matter what grand visions Obama may harbor to remake the world, the central mission of his foreign policy—at least at first—will be to get it out of the red

hard power isn't what it used to be—and won't be again anytime soon.

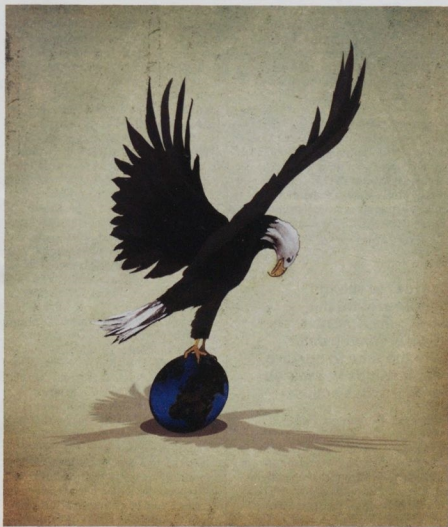
When it comes to soft power—the power to persuade, not coerce—things are little better. True, anti-Americanism is abating as brand Obama rejuvenates brand U.S.A. But popularity is not the same as power (ask Canada or Sweden). In the 1990s, American soft power was based on more than goodwill; it was based on economic and ideological hegemony. There was only one widely accepted path to prosperity—deregulated, American-style capitalism. And there was one central destination for a poor country seeking the investment and aid it needed to travel down that path: Washington. The U.S. and its allies could dangle big financial carrots to get countries to do what we wanted—and turn the screws on those pariahs who held out.

That's no longer the case. American-style capitalism no longer looks as dominant now that Wall Street has blown up. The financial meltdown also means that for the foreseeable future, the U.S. and its European allies will have less money to offer countries they want to influence. There's a lot in Obama's history and rhetoric to suggest he'd love a Marshall Plan-style effort to fight poverty and terrorism in failing states like Pakistan and Yemen. But finding the money is going to be much harder today than it was a few years back. And putting tough conditions on that money will be harder too, since poor countries can turn to China and get cash with fewer strings attached.

All of which is to say that getting to solvency will require reducing the other side of the ledger: the one that lists America's commitments overseas.

Subtracting Enemies

THE MOST OBVIOUS COMMITMENT OBAMA wants to liquidate, of course, is the war in Iraq. But how can the U.S. draw down its troop levels without letting Iraq spiral out of control? The answer, at least in part, is to end another conflict: America's proxy war with Iran. Since Iran is the



other big foreign power with influence in Baghdad, the U.S. needs its help to prevent Iraq from sliding back into anarchy as we withdraw. A better relationship with Iran might also make it easier to achieve calm—if not peace—between Israel and its two nonstate foes Hizballah and Hamas, since Tehran arms and bankrolls both terrorist groups.

Getting Iran's help in Iraq—and persuading it to give up its quest for a nuclear bomb—will require abandoning our efforts at regime change, muting our

human-rights concerns and accepting an Iranian sphere of influence in the Persian Gulf. Obama's opponents will probably depict that kind of deal as defeatist, an admission of the limits of American power in the Middle East. But those limits already exist; the U.S. just hasn't acknowledged them.

The solvency doctrine also has implications for America's other war, in Afghanistan. Obama wants to send tens of thousands of U.S. and NATO troops there, expand the Afghan army and dis-

patch boatloads of Western civilians to help build a governmental infrastructure that actually works. He also wants a high-octane diplomatic push across the border into Pakistan, which al-Qaeda and the Taliban have made their home base.

But he still needs to define victory down. Afghanistan is bigger and more populous than Iraq, with harsher terrain and a literacy rate one-third as high. It has no real history of centralized government; a fictional border with Pakistan, which militants cross with ease; an economy based largely on drugs; and a leader who—although still popular in the U.S.—is widely considered a disaster at home.

To make matters worse, public support for the Afghan war has grown noticeably soft. The reason is that to most Americans, the war in Afghanistan has always been principally a war against al-Qaeda—to retaliate for 9/11 and eliminate its safe haven—not a war to build a centralized, democratic state in the Hindu Kush, which is a far harder thing. Obama is right to increase America's military, economic and diplomatic muscle in Afghanistan and across the border in Pakistan, but that power surge will work only if he also sets more realistic expectations. Ultimately, the U.S. will have to cut a deal—or lots of little deals—with the bad guys to flip those Taliban members who will renounce al-Qaeda from enemies to allies. That will mean empowering local warlords who don't truly report to Kabul and may not win any awards from the ACLU. But that's essentially what we've done over the past two years in Iraq, where the Bush Administration both temporarily increased American power and quietly downsized expectations so we were fighting a small number of jihadist terrorists rather than a large number of conservative tribesmen. Achieving solvency requires subtracting enemies, not only in Iraq and Iran but in Afghanistan too.

A Downsized War

THE BEST PRECEDENT FOR ALL THIS IS what the U.S. did in the wake of Vietnam. By the early 1970s, the containment of

global communism had become a foreign policy bubble of its own. The U.S. had committed itself to stopping virtually any leftist movement from taking power anywhere in the world. But in Vietnam, this ideological determination was exacting a toll in money and blood that the American public was no longer willing to pay.

Nixon, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan—each in a different way—responded by downsizing containment. Nixon opened up to China, which essentially meant the U.S. was no longer trying to contain the Soviets alone. Carter told Americans not to panic every time leftists overran some banana republic. Even Reagan, although he funded anticommunist guerrillas, refused to send U.S. troops to battle communist rebels and regimes in Central America.

Today it's the war on terrorism that has proved too costly. Describing Shiite Iran and Sunni al-Qaeda as a unified terrorist threat when they loathe each other makes as little sense as treating China and the Soviet Union as a unified threat in the 1960s, when they were on the brink of war. Even Hamas and Hizballah are fundamentally different from al-Qaeda, since they're national movements, not global ones. They may be terrorists, but politically, socially and economically, they are deeply integrated into their local societies in a way al-Qaeda is not. Our long-term goal should be to transform them from militias into political parties, which means giving them a seat at the table, no matter how odious their ideology, if they give up their guns.

We've done it before. America won World War II and the Cold War not by taking on all the enemies of freedom at once but by shrewdly isolating our greatest enemies, even though that meant cutting deals with some pretty nasty guys. We beat Hitler by allying with Stalin, and we beat Moscow in part by allying with Beijing. Today we need to beat al-Qaeda

with the help of Iran, elements of the Taliban, perhaps Syria and maybe one day even Hizballah and Hamas. We need to isolate the violent jihadists who want to attack America rather than isolate ourselves by defining the war on terrorism as America against the field.

The New Agenda

DOES RESTORING SOLVENCY MEAN ABANDONING our commitment to freedom? No, but it means not writing rhetorical checks that we can't cash. America usually promotes liberty more successfully by luring autocracies into greater engagement with the West rather than by trying to quarantine them. What's

In order to remind people around the world why America can inspire, Obama must take the time to nurture relationships the war on terrorism has eclipsed

more, America's greatest contribution to democracy's spread comes from the power of our example. By defining the war on terrorism as a permanent state of emergency during which human rights and civil liberties don't apply, Bush has harmed freedom's cause far more than his lofty speeches have boosted it. The solvency doctrine may seem coldhearted, but in the long run, restoring America's strategic balance can help restore its moral balance as well.

Finally, downsizing the war on terrorism is crucial to freeing up energy for other things. Since 9/11, the Middle East has swallowed American foreign policy. From Bangkok to Brazil, China has been winning friends and influencing people while the U.S. fights endless wars in the basket cases of the world. Obama's personal story gives him a unique opportunity to remind people in Asia,

Latin America and Africa why America can still inspire in ways China cannot. But he can do that only if he and his top advisers take the time to nurture relationships that the war on terrorism has distorted or eclipsed.

If he's very lucky and very good, Obama may be able to get U.S. foreign policy out of the red by late in his first term. If the economy starts growing again, if the U.S. troop presence in Iraq drops without a return to anarchy, if there's a real thaw with Iran and if the outlines of a political settlement take shape in Afghanistan, then Obama will have an opportunity to define his agenda rather than having America's weakness define it for him. If he has the chance, my guess is he'll revive a vision that has intrigued progressive Presidents since Wilson: collective security, the idea that ultimately America's security and prosperity are bound up with the security and prosperity of people across the globe. A collective-security agenda would start with global warming, the ultimate we're-all-in-it-together planetary threat. It might move from there to international financial regulation, so countries can better work together to keep world capitalism from running off the rails. Next might be a new nuclear compact, in which the current nuclear powers begin to disarm while wannabes agree to tighter inspections in return for better access to civilian nuclear power.

This would be a stark departure from the Bush Administration's us-vs.-them, neo-Cold War approach to the world, and it would be far better received. It would still be hard to achieve, given that global power is far more diffuse today than it was in the late 1940s, the last time the U.S. helped build a new international architecture for a new world. But it would be an aggressive, farsighted agenda, launched by an America strong enough to play offense again. If Obama can make U.S. foreign policy solvent, he'll do more than cut our losses. He'll give himself—and us—the power to dream again of a transformed world. ■

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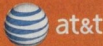


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Lonesome Doves

After the Gaza offensive, Israel's peace activists are losing heart, numbers and influence

BY TIM MCGIRK/SDEROT

IT'S QUIXOTIC, BEING A PEACE ACTIVIST in Sderot, an Israeli town that has borne the brunt of rocket attacks from Gaza. When Israeli air strikes on Gaza began last month, hundreds of people from Sderot swarmed to a vantage point known as Horseman's Hill to watch the fiery spectacle and cheer. Nomika Zion was not among them. "I listened to one of my neighbors telling Israeli TV that the sound of the bombing was like a symphony, that he's never heard such powerful music before," she says. "And I was thinking, How many people are dying because of that 'music'?"

Zion and a local entrepreneur, Eric Yellin, who is blogging and phoning peace-minded Gazans, are among the very few people in Sderot—and in all of Israel, for that matter—who opposed the 22-day offensive into Gaza, which ended on Jan. 18 in the shakiest of cease-fires. Lately, Zion has rarely gone out. When she did leave home,



Peace and protest Eric Yellin, top left, and Nomika Zion speak out against the Gaza war, while others, above, support the army

she was often forced to dive into the bunker of her suburban house—Sderot was hammered by 203 rockets during the fighting. And if, despite the risks, she got to Sderot's flag-festooned marketplace, she was often cursed for loving the enemy in a time of war. "I understand their anger and feelings of revenge after so many years of helplessness," says Yellin of his neighbors. "But there are other ways to solve this than brute force."

Israeli peaceniks are lonely people these days. The Gaza war may have sparked global protests condemning the heavy number of Palestinian civilian casualties. But inside Israel, peace demonstrations gathered only a few hundred protesters, who were swiftly shouted down by mobs yelling "Death to Arabs!"

Have Israelis given up on peace? It can seem that way. Polls show that more than 90% of Israeli Jews favored the blitz on Gaza. But in truth, the demise of the Israeli peace movement has been a long, drawn-out agony. Its main advocate, Peace Now, was once able to lure hundreds of thousands of Israelis into the streets. But after the Oslo accords with the Palestinians in 1993, the steam started to go out of the peace movement. Israelis became convinced that Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat played a double game, talking peace but battling Israelis from within



Devastation Palestinians return to their destroyed houses in the Rafah refugee camp after the cease-fire took effect

the Jewish state and the Palestinian territories. In 2000, after the collapse of the Clinton Administration's peace talks at Camp David, Arafat, claiming that Israel had failed to honor its commitments, presided over a second *intifadeh*. Then came the wave of suicide bombings from 2001 through mid-2002, which wreaked terror in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

All that was enough to make Israeli peace activists doubt their mission. But worse was to come. In 2005, just after the last Israeli soldier left Gaza—which Israel had occupied since 1967—a Palestinian rocket arced its way from the territory into Israel, and thousands more followed. Israeli leftists had always believed in “land for peace”—the idea that if Palestinians had the real estate on which to create a viable nation, they would learn to live side by side with Israel. But as Yaron Ezrahi, a political scientist at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, says, “In the end, we didn't get land for peace. We got land for rockets.”

The experience of the Gaza pullout convinced even some of the most ardent peace activists that turning over full control of the West Bank to the Palestinians could be dangerous. With land for peace discredited, the Israeli public turned to deterrence, using the strongest army in the region to crush opponents in the hope that one day, in the words of former army chief Moshe Ya'alon, “it will be seared deep into the consciousness of Palestinians that they are a defeated people.” Once Palestinians realize that—the thinking goes—Israel's other adversaries will too.

Even for those Israelis still disposed to think that peace with the Palestinians is possible, there is a new worry. In the run-up to the Gaza war, the Israeli public was con-

stantly told that Hamas was Iran's proxy. According to some experts, Iran—whose President has said, “Israel has no right to exist and soon will vanish”—was providing Hamas with long-range and more-accurate missiles, money and training. It was a powerful argument that was repeated often in the Israeli media, to chilling effect.

The Gaza war has shifted the course of Israel's current election campaign. Avshalom Vilan, a Knesset member from Meretz, a left-wing party, said it would have been “committing political suicide” not to support the war. Both Meretz and the mainstream Labor Party did so but said the air strikes should have ended after the first three days to keep down the civilian casualties. “The electorate now has a deep hatred of Arabs, such distrust,” says Vilan. “They see us as Arab lovers, and they don't accept that we're patriots fighting for the long-term interests of Israel.” Polls suggest that neither party is expected to increase its representation in

‘The electorate see us as Arab lovers, and they don't accept that we're patriots fighting for the long-term interests of Israel.’

—AVSHALOM VILAN, MERETZ KNESSET MEMBER

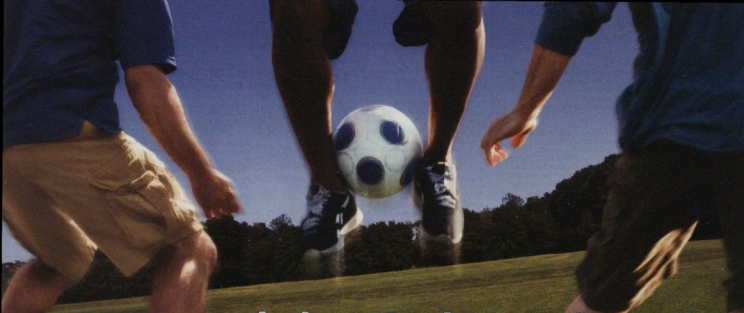
the Knesset in the Feb. 10 election, and the odds are on the Gaza war's helping sweep a right-wing coalition into power.

The peace cause was not aided by the way the Israeli military muzzled media coverage of the war. Most correspondents were barred from entering Gaza, and viewers of Israeli TV news were, for the most part, shown only the aerial ballet of fighter planes streaking through pillars of smoke rising from the bombs they had dropped. Yossi Sarid, a *Ha'aretz* columnist and former Meretz politician, says, “People only saw the sterile version of the war. I think they'll be shocked when they see the images coming out of Gaza once the reporters are allowed inside.”

That may be the case. On Jan. 16, an Israeli TV news show telephoned a Gaza doctor, Izzeldin Abuelaish, known for his dedication to peace, for a live broadcast. The call came just after a tank had shelled the living room of his home in a refugee camp, killing three of his daughters and a niece. Through the TV channel's influence, the Israeli military helped evacuate the doctor's other wounded relatives. But his plaintive question—“Why, why did they do this?”—touched the hearts of many Israelis.

And there are indeed Israelis who still want to reach out to Palestinians. They are part of what political scientist Ezrahi calls “the liberal-humanitarian strain” of the peace movement. Such activists help protect Arab Bedouins from armed Jewish settlers, challenge illegal demolition of Arab houses in East Jerusalem, keep an eye out for bullying Israeli guards at Palestinian checkpoints and fight in Israeli courts against army and police excesses. But even among these die-hard believers in peace, there is a sense of exhaustion, says David Shulman, a Hebrew University professor of Tamil language and culture who is an activist of Ta'ayush, which defends Palestinians from settlers who destroy their olive groves. “We're worn out,” says Shulman. “The right wing has sold to the Israeli public [former Prime Minister] Ariel Sharon's foolish idea that there are no partners among the Palestinians.” Until that changes—until Israel is prepared to talk to its Palestinian adversaries, and they are prepared to listen—the fighting is bound to continue.

Back in Sderot, Zion still doesn't dare go too far from her bunker, which she has converted into a cozy studio, decorated with drawings from Sderot's children. The cease-fire in Gaza could end any moment, and rockets could crash down again. “I've got five seconds, maybe less, to reach my bunker before a rocket hits,” says Zion. “Enough with this music of vengeance.” —WITH REPORTING BY AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV ■



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SINGULAR® (SING-u-lair) Tablets, Chewable Tablets, and Oral Granules

Generic name: montelukast (mon-te-LOO-kast) sodium

Read this information before you start taking SINGULAR®. Also, read the leaflet you get each time you refill SINGULAR, since there may be new information in the leaflet since the last time you saw it. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition and/or your treatment.

What is SINGULAR®?

SINGULAR is a medicine called a leukotriene receptor antagonist. It works by blocking substances in the body called leukotrienes. Blocking leukotrienes improves asthma and allergic rhinitis. SINGULAR is not a steroid. Studies have shown that SINGULAR does not affect the growth rate of children. (See the end of this leaflet for more information about asthma and allergic rhinitis.)

SINGULAR is prescribed for the treatment of asthma, the prevention of exercise-induced asthma, and allergic rhinitis:

1. Asthma.

SINGULAR should be used for the long-term management of asthma in adults and children ages 12 months and older.

Do not take SINGULAR for the immediate relief of an asthma attack. If you get an asthma attack, you should follow the instructions your doctor gave you for treating asthma attacks.

2. Prevention of exercise-induced asthma.

SINGULAR is used for the prevention of exercise-induced asthma in patients 15 years of age and older.

3. Allergic Rhinitis.

SINGULAR is used to help control the symptoms of allergic rhinitis (sneezing, stuffy nose, runny nose, itching of the nose). SINGULAR is used to treat seasonal allergic rhinitis (outdoor allergies that happen part of the year) in adults and children ages 2 years and older, and perennial allergic rhinitis (indoor allergies that happen all year) in adults and children ages 6 months and older.

Who should not take SINGULAR?

Do not take SINGULAR if you are allergic to SINGULAR or any of its ingredients.

The active ingredient in SINGULAR is montelukast sodium.

See the end of this leaflet for a list of all the ingredients in SINGULAR.

What should I tell my doctor before I start taking SINGULAR?

Tell your doctor about:

- **Pregnancy:** If you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant, SINGULAR may not be right for you.
- **Breast-feeding:** If you are breast-feeding, SINGULAR may be passed to your milk to your baby. You should consult your doctor before taking SINGULAR if you are breast-feeding or intend to breast-feed.
- **Medical Problems or Allergies:** Talk about any medical problems or allergies you have now had in the past.
- **Other Medicines:** Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may affect how SINGULAR works, or SINGULAR may affect how your other medicines work.

How should I take SINGULAR?

For adults and children 12 months of age and older:

- Take SINGULAR once a day in the evening.
- Take SINGULAR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it, even if you have no asthma symptoms.
- You may take SINGULAR with food or without food.
- If you have asthma symptoms get worse, or if you need to increase the use of your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks, call your doctor right away.
- **Do not take SINGULAR for the immediate relief of an asthma attack.** If you get an asthma attack, you should follow the instructions your doctor gave you for treating asthma attacks.
- Always have your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks with you.
- Do not stop taking or lower the dose of your asthma medicines unless your doctor tells you to.

For patients 15 years of age and older for the prevention of exercise-induced asthma:

- Take SINGULAR at least 2 hours before exercise.
- Always have your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks with you.
- If you are taking SINGULAR daily for chronic asthma or allergic rhinitis, do not take an additional dose to prevent exercise-induced asthma. Speak to your doctor about your

treatment of exercise-induced asthma.

- Do not take an additional dose of SINGULAR within 24 hours of a previous dose.

For adults and children 2 years of age and older with seasonal allergic rhinitis, or for adults and children 6 months of age and older with perennial allergic rhinitis:

- Take SINGULAR once a day, at about the same time each day.
- Take SINGULAR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it.
- You may take SINGULAR with food or without food.

How should I give SINGULAR oral granules to my child?

Do not open the packet until ready to use.

SINGULAR 4-mg oral granules can be given:

- directly in the mouth;
- dissolved in 1 teaspoonful (5 mL) of cold or room temperature baby formula or breast milk;
- mixed with a spoonful of cold or the following soft foods at cold or room temperature: applesauce, mashed carrots, rice, or ice cream.

Be sure that the entire dose is mixed with the food, baby formula, or breast milk and that the child gives the entire spoonful of the food, baby formula, or breast milk mixture right away (within 15 minutes).

IMPORTANT: Never store any oral granules mixed with food, baby formula, or breast milk for use at a later time. Throw away any unused portion.

Do not put SINGULAR oral granules in any liquid other than baby formula or breast milk. However, your child may drink liquids after swallowing the SINGULAR oral granules.

What is the dose of SINGULAR?

For asthma—Take once daily in the evening:

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older,
- One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14 years of age,
- One 4-mg chewable tablet or one packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 2 to 5 years of age, or
- One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 12 to 23 months of age.

For exercise-induced asthma—Take at least 2 hours before exercise, but not more than once daily:

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older

For allergic rhinitis—Take once daily at about the same time each day:

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older,
- One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14 years of age,
- One 4-mg chewable tablet for children 2 to 5 years of age, or
- One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 2 to 5 years of age with seasonal allergic rhinitis, or for children 6 months to 5 years of age with perennial allergic rhinitis.

What should I avoid while taking SINGULAR?

If you have asthma and if your asthma is made worse by aspirin, continue to avoid aspirin or other medicines called non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs while taking SINGULAR.

What are the possible side effects of SINGULAR?

The side effects of SINGULAR are usually mild, and generally did not cause patients to stop taking their medicine. The side effects in patients treated with SINGULAR were similar in type and frequency to side effects in patients who were given a placebo (a pill containing no medicine).

The most common side effects with SINGULAR include:

- stomach pain
- stomach or intestinal upset
- heartburn
- tiredness
- fever
- stuffy nose
- cough
- flu
- upper respiratory infection
- dizziness
- headache
- rash

Less common side effects that have happened with SINGULAR include:

- increased bleeding tendency
- allergic reactions (including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat (which may cause trouble breathing or swallowing), hives and itching)
- behavior and mood related changes (agitation including aggressive behavior, bad/vivid dreams, depression, feeling anxious, hallucinations (seeing things that are not there), irritability, restlessness, suicidal thoughts and actions (including suicide), tremor, trouble sleeping)
- drowsiness, pins and needles/numbness,

- seizures (convulsions or fits)
- palpitations
- nose bleed
- diarrhea, indigestion, inflammation of the pancreas, nausea, vomiting
- hepatitis
- bruising
- joint pain, muscle aches and muscle cramps

Rarely, asthmatic patients taking SINGULAR have experienced a condition that includes certain symptoms that do not go away or that get worse. These symptoms include, but not always, in patients who were taking steroid pills by mouth for asthma and those steroids were being slowly lowered or stopped. Although SINGULAR has not been shown to cause this condition, you must tell your doctor right away if you get one or more of these symptoms:

- a feeling of pins and needles or numbness of arms or legs
- a flu-like illness
- rash
- severe inflammation (pain and swelling) of the sinuses (sinusitis)

These are not all the possible side effects of SINGULAR. For more information ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Talk to your doctor if you think you have side effects from taking SINGULAR.

General information about the safe and effective use of SINGULAR.

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use SINGULAR for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give SINGULAR to other people even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them. **Keep SINGULAR and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

Store SINGULAR at 25°C (77°F). Protect from moisture and light. Store in original package.

This leaflet summarizes information about SINGULAR. If you would like more information, talk to your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about SINGULAR that is written for health professionals.

What are the ingredients in SINGULAR?

Active ingredient: montelukast sodium

SINGULAR chewable tablets contain aspartame, a source of phenylalanine. Phenyleketonurics: SINGULAR 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets contain 0.674 and 0.842 mg phenylalanine, respectively.

Inactive ingredients:

- 4-mg oral granules: mannitol, hydroxypropyl cellulose, and magnesium stearate.
- 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets: mannitol, microcrystalline cellulose, hydroxypropyl cellulose, red ferric oxide, croscarmellose sodium, cherry flavor, aspartame, and magnesium stearate.
- 10-mg tablet: microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, croscarmellose sodium, hydroxypropyl cellulose, magnesium stearate, hydroxypropyl methylcellulose, titanium dioxide, red ferric oxide, yellow ferric oxide, and carnauba wax.

What is asthma?

Asthma is a continuing (chronic) inflammation of the bronchial passageways which are the tubes that carry air from outside the body to the lungs.

Symptoms of asthma include:

- coughing
- wheezing
- chest tightness
- shortness of breath

What is exercise-induced asthma?

Exercise-induced asthma, more accurately called exercise-induced bronchoconstriction occurs when exercise triggers symptoms of asthma.

What is allergic rhinitis?

- Seasonal allergic rhinitis, also known as hay fever, is triggered by outdoor allergens such as pollens from trees, grasses, and weeds.
- Perennial allergic rhinitis may occur year-round and is generally triggered by indoor allergens such as dust mites, animal dander, and/or mold spores.
- Symptoms of allergic rhinitis may include:
 - stuffy, runny, and/or itchy nose
 - sneezing

Rx only

US Patent No.: 5,565,473

Issued July 2008



Extra Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to time.com/curiouscapitalist



Teetering Since 1812

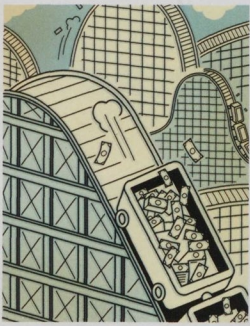
So Citi's in big trouble. Nothing new there. What financial history teaches us about today

CITY BANK OF NEW YORK WAS FOUNDED in 1812 by a group of merchants hoping to fill the void left by the demise of the first Bank of the United States, the sort of central bank whose charter Congress had allowed to expire the year before. City nearly went under in the Panic of 1837 but was bailed out by the country's richest man, fur magnate John Jacob Astor. Astor's associate Moses Taylor built City into a bulwark of sound finance—big capital reserves, stingy lending standards—that bankrolled the Union during the Civil War and easily withstood the first postwar financial panic, in 1873.

Thus began a pattern of alternating conservatism and risk-taking, success and near failure, that has marked the banking enterprise now known as Citigroup—and the American financial system—ever since. James Stillman, who became City's president in 1891, combined prudence with great ambition. City Bank cruised through the Panic of 1893, thanks in part to the huge stash of gold that Stillman had acquired—gold being the backing for credit then—because he sensed trouble. City joined J.P. Morgan in bailing out the nearly bankrupt Federal Government in 1895 and soon grew to be the country's biggest bank. Its growth went international in 1914, after City lobbied Congress to tweak the Federal Reserve Act and allow branches abroad.

With that growth came near disaster, as big loans to Cuban sugar planters went bad. What saved the bank was the salesmanship of Charles E. Mitchell, head of City's securities arm, who repackaged the bad Cuban debt—and went on in the

1920s to find ever more creative ways to sell securities and lend to the burgeoning middle class. Mitchell, who became president of the bank in 1921, built City into the first financial supermarket. When everything financial turned toxic in the early 1930s, he became the most prominent scapegoat for the disaster. He was the main target of the famous Pecora hearings in Congress, was arrested for—but not convicted of—tax evasion and



resigned in disgrace. The Glass-Steagall Act of 1933 put an end to the blending of banking and securities businesses that Mitchell had championed. City lived on as a chastened, smaller bank.

Decades of conservatism and very little new lending—by the mid-1940s, more than half of City's assets were in U.S. government bonds—gave way to a new era of growth in the 1950s. The drivers were international expansion and domestic innovation, and the leader was Walter Wriston. The bank's CEO from 1967 to 1984, Wriston changed the *yin City* to an *i*. After years of success, though, he left the bank with billions in bad loans to

Latin America. Only profits generated by the U.S. retail-banking and credit-card juggernaut built by Wriston's protégé John Reed—combined with a certain amount of forbearance by bank regulators and a lot of cash from Saudi Arabia—enabled Citi to survive. Reed then agreed to a 1998 merger with Travelers Group, which necessitated congressional repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act and established Citigroup as the greatest financial supermarket on earth.

You know the rest of that story. Citi is now on life support, owing its continued survival to \$45 billion—so far—in federal aid. Its beleaguered top-management team is trying to undo most of the 1998 merger with Travelers. And the new Obama Administration is faced with the somewhat conflicting priorities of trying to avert a depression, nurse Citi and other banks back to health and prevent a repeat of the excesses that led to today's troubles—all while taking care that the U.S. government doesn't dig its own financial grave in the process.

What Citi's history illustrates is that these are not new dilemmas and that they've never been perfectly resolved. Banks and financial systems are inherently fragile, beset by a natural tendency to careen from fear to greed and back. We're deep in the fear part of the cycle right now. So what should government do?

In the 1800s, it stood by while banks failed. That's not a real option today. The modern world simply isn't prepared to survive a financial shutdown. But handing banks cash and hoping things will work out is no solution either. What's needed is a new beginning: new management, new investors, new boards of directors, in some cases new institutions. That's how Citi, and the financial system in general, returned to health in the past. And that's what the next stage of the bank bailout will have to emphasize if it's going to stand a chance of success. ■

Citi's history illustrates that banks are inherently fragile, beset by a natural tendency to careen from fear to greed and back

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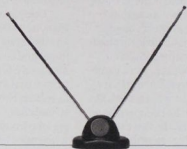
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NERD WORLD, PAGE 68

Life

SPORT HOME SHOPPING NERD WORLD



SPORT

Hard Knocks.

How to keep
high school
kids with
concussions
on the bench

BY SEAN GREGORY

TOO MANY KIDS ARE RETURNING to the playing field too soon after a concussion. How many? According to an alarming new study, from 2005 to 2008, 41% of concussed athletes in 100 high schools across the U.S. returned to play too soon, under guidelines set out by the American Academy of Neurology. The 11-year-old guidelines say, for example, that if an athlete's concussion symptoms, such as dizziness or nausea, last longer than 15 minutes, he should be benched until he's been symptom-free for a week. The most startling data point—uncovered by the same researchers who in 2007 brought to light the fact that girls have a higher incidence of concussion than boys—is that 16% of high school football players who lost consciousness during a concussion returned to the field the same day.

The consequences of going back early can be dire. Last September, Jaquan Waller, 16,

suffered a concussion during football practice at J.H. Rose High School in Greenville, N.C. A certified athletic trainer educated in concussion management wasn't onsite, and the school's first responder who examined Waller cleared him to play in a game two days later. During that game, Waller was tackled. Moments later, he collapsed on the sidelines. He died the next day. A medical examiner determined Waller died from what is called second-impact syndrome, noting that "neither impact would have been sufficient to cause death in the absence of the other impact."

Research indicates that younger, less developed brains are at greater risk of second-impact syndrome, which is why the new concussion study from the Center for Injury Research and Policy at Nationwide Children's Hospital in Columbus, Ohio, is so troubling. Submitted to a scientific journal for peer review, the yet-to-be-published study examined 1,308 concussion incidents reported by athletic trainers and found that in

girls' volleyball and boys' basketball and baseball, more than half of concussed players returned to play too soon.

"These levels are way too high," says Dawn Costmick, an Ohio State pediatric professor and co-author of the new study. She cites several factors that are driving the numbers. Not enough high schools have certified trainers who know how to deal with concussions—just 42% do, according to the National Athletic Trainers' Association. In some instances, over-competitive coaches, who are not required to be trained in concussion management, are pushing players back onto the field. And too often the players themselves aren't reporting head trauma, with team spirit giving them too much of a warrior mentality.

Why is playing sports with concussion symptoms so risky? During a concussion, arteries constrict, slowing blood flow to the brain. At the same time, calcium floods the energy-producing portions of brain cells. That calcium plays a mean defense, blocking

oxygen- and glucose-rich blood from replenishing neurons' energy supply. Brain cells get sluggish, and a concussed athlete who can't focus or suffers from slower reaction times is left more susceptible to a slew of other injuries, including another concussion. A second blow to the head could lead to more arterial constriction and more calcium infusions. "Concussion produces an energy crisis in the brain," says David Hovda, director of the Brain Injury Research Center at UCLA's David Geffen School of Medicine. "A second concussion will cause such an energy demand that it will overwhelm the survival capability of the brain."

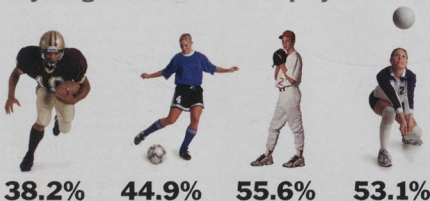
That's why caution should be the name of the game. Robert Cantu, a neurosurgeon and concussion expert, insists that even after a mild first-time concussion, athletes must be free of all symptoms for at least a week, both at rest and during exertion, before returning to the field. Cantu's mantra: "When in doubt, sit them out."

But coaches, parents and medical personnel should expect resistance from athletes and remain on the lookout for those trying to downplay or hide less visible symptoms like headaches. What if a college scout was at the game you sat out because you got your bell rung? "For these kids, their goals in life sometimes revolve around athletics," says Todd Lipe, Waller's coach at J.H. Rose High School, who has promised to be more vigilant in detecting and managing concussions. (The school district did not blame any individual for Waller's death, though the first responder who examined him was relieved of his duties.)

Waller's death helped prompt an athletic-safety task force in North Carolina to recommend that all public high schools in the state be required to employ a full-time certified athletic trainer by August 2011. Meanwhile, after a high school student in New Jersey died of a brain injury suffered while playing football in October, New Jersey Representative Bill Pascrell introduced legislation in late 2008 that would set aside federal funding for computerized preseason baseline and postinjury neurocognitive testing for student athletes. This is a tough time to be asking for money, he says, but "when you compare this to the other injuries and ailments that we've responded to, it's embarrassing we haven't done more about concussions."

Given that concussions can be difficult to spot, the trickiest aspect may be getting kids to bench themselves after they're thumped. "You don't want to miss out," says Ryan Williams, a senior at Cibola High School in Albuquerque, N.M., who suffered two concussions this season and one last season. "You want to help your brothers." Of course, you can't help them, or yourself, if you don't know when to stay out of the game.

Postconcussion Rush. A high percentage of young athletes return to play too soon



A PRIMER ON CONCUSSIONS

SYMPTOMS

Headache, nausea, double vision, light sensitivity, loss of balance. Coaches should ask if a player can recall the events leading up to the hit

GUIDELINES

Never return to play the same day if you lose consciousness. After one mild concussion, be symptom-free for a week before returning

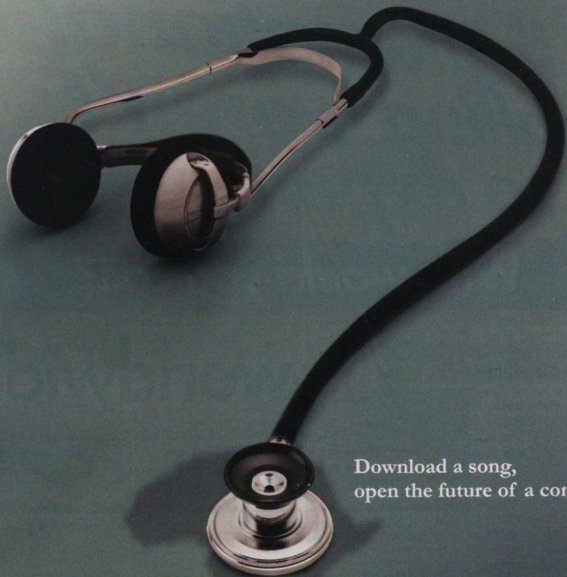
VIGILANCE

Brain injuries don't present themselves as broken bones do. Parents get a closer look at their kids than do coaches—watch for signs

RESOURCES

Concussions are complicated. For more information, go to sportslegacy.org or visit cdc.gov and type "heads up" in the search box

Source: Center for Injury Research and Policy at Nationwide Children's Hospital, using American Academy of Neurology guidelines



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Music can make a difference, and so can you. Youssou N'Dour, Nas, Estelle and Peter Dinklage of R.E.M. invite you to download their remixes of "Wake Up" for free from IntraHealth and encourage you to make a donation to this important work. Other participating musical artists include Q-Burns, Abstract Message, Duncan Sheik, Gavin Hardkiss (aka Hawke), and many more.

Download "Wake Up" remixes at www.intrahealth.org/open



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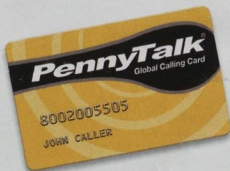
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The Cult of the Snuggie. Call it this season's Clapper. Why you can't avoid the commercial that's so bad, it's good



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Great for the whole family!



Great for outdoors!



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Great for college...



Oversized sleeves



Use your laptop

AS SEEN ON
TV

THE FOREMAN GRILL

George Foreman sold the rights for \$137.5 million in 1999

THE FLOWBEE

The haircutting device debuted in 1988; 2 million have been sold

THE SNUGGIE

More than 3 million purchased since September; one size (supposedly) fits all



BY M.J. STEPHEY

IF YOU'VE NEVER HEARD of the Snuggie, then you haven't been watching cable TV. The two-minute commercial for the "blanket with sleeves," which began airing in September, has been playing nonstop—and not just on struggling channels in the wee hours of the morning. Images of Snuggie-clad folks high-fiving one another at an outdoor sporting event (and looking like, as one blogger put it, members of a "laid-back satanic cult") have appeared during prime time on such cable stalwarts as ESPN, Comedy Central and CNN, becoming so ubiquitous that everyone from Jay Leno to a gazillion people on YouTube is talking about it. Just Google "Cult of the Snuggie." The ready-to-wear blan-

ket went so far as to inspire Cameron Cosgrove, an 18-year-old Connecticut native, to post a seven-minute, profanity-laden rant on YouTube. "This is the best way to explain it," he tells the camera between long drags on a cigarette. "It's a bathrobe. That is really long. That you wear backwards."

Scott Boilen, CEO and president of Allstar Marketing Group, the company that makes the cuddly cackock, is familiar with Snuggie haters; he's seen Cosgrove's rant. "Publicity is publicity," he says. "At least people are talking about it." And evidently people are also buying it, with more than 3 million Snuggies sold and counting.

Like Ginsu knives and the George Foreman grill, the Snuggie has become synonymous with direct-response

advertising, the preferred industry parlance for commercials that feature a toll-free number for placing orders. And thanks to the recession, such "as seen on TV" companies are purchasing more airtime for chump change.

"I like to say that we're getting beachfront property at trailer-park prices," says A.J. Khubani, founder and CEO of TeleBrands, another popular purveyor of infomercial-esque merchandise. He says his company is buying better time slots for nearly 25% less than it paid in 2007. Commercials for TeleBrands products, which include nail clippers for pets (PediPaws), now appear during *The O'Reilly Show* on Fox News.

And while profits are down at nationwide retailers like Walgreens and Target, Khubani says the number of TeleBrands products purchased in those stores are "way up," with TeleBrands' overall sales in 2008 nearly doubling since 2007. Of course, because such products are often manufactured overseas—the Snuggie, for example, is made in China—prices tend to be more consumer-friendly in a recession.

The Snuggie isn't the first blanket with sleeves (Slanket, anyone?), nor is it likely to be the last. But if Boilen has his way, the product and its aggressive marketing campaign are here to stay. His company plans to introduce new versions later this year, from the Outdoor Snuggie to the Snuggie for Kids. "We're hoping this is going to be a brand in the U.S. for a long time to come," he says. Someone get Cameron Cosgrove another cigarette. ■



Requiem for Rabbit Ears

The era of analog TV is scheduled to end forever on Feb. 17. Are you ready to say goodbye?



THE SWITCH

1941

Year analog TV signals were standardized

7%

Percentage of U.S. households yet to convert to digital

\$19 BILLION

Amount paid for bandwidth freed up by the digital switchover

CHANGE IS COMING TO AMERICA. You can't see it or touch it, and it may not be compatible with your existing hardware, but it's change you can believe in. On Feb. 17, the Digital Transition and Public Safety Act of 2005 is scheduled to go into effect, and one of the great technological monuments of this country, one that has endured for 68 years, will be rendered obsolete. I speak, of course, of the analog television signal.

Feb. 17 is the date of what people are calling the great digital switchover—or sometimes, kind of poetically, the “analog sunset.” On that date, all full-power TV stations will be required to stop broadcasting analog TV signals and transmit only

digital ones. Most people won't be affected: you can pick up digital TV using a regular old antenna—you just need to make sure your TV has a digital tuner in it, which all new and newish TVs have. After March 1, 2007, manufacturers were pretty much required to put a digital tuner in every TV they made. If you have cable or satellite TV, you can stop reading now.

But if you have an analog-only TV, you'll need to get a set-top digital-to-analog converter box in order to keep receiving your episodes of *Gary Unmarried*. It costs about \$50. The government feels bad about making you do this, so it is distributing \$40 coupons to help bankroll your upgrade. Call it the analog bailout.

The transition hasn't been exactly silky-smooth. The FCC has been blanketing the media with warnings, but there are still about 8 million steadfastly analog households out there, according to Nielsen, and the government has already run through the entire \$1.34 billion it had set aside for those converter-box coupons. (There's a limit of two per household, and they expire 90 days after they're issued.) The situation is bad enough that it has actually become a presidential transition issue: on Jan. 8, John Podesta, Obama's transition team co-chair, sent a letter to Congress asking it to push back the date. So far, the Bush Administration hasn't budged.

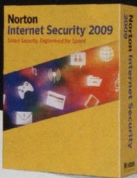
So... why are we doing this? Oh, about a zillion reasons. Digital TV makes possible better sound and a sharper

picture as well as something called multicasting, which means that—because digital signals are more compact than analog ones—single stations will be able to broadcast multiple channels of programming all at once. The switchover will also free up a lot of space on the overcrowded airwaves. Some of it will be used for an improved post-Sept. 11, post-Katrina emergency-broadcast system (yes, even better than those color bars and that weirdly aggravating tone). The rest of it went to the highest bidder: last year, in the biggest government auction of all time, rights to much of the 700-MHz spectrum—known to you and me as UHF channels 52 through 69—were sold off for an astounding \$19 billion. Verizon and AT&T were the big winners. What they'll do with them is still anybody's guess.

Fairly or unfairly, neatly or messily, sooner or later the switchover will happen. And when it does, we should take a moment to salute the passing of the analog era. Just as vinyl records gave rise to scratching and skipping, analog TV created a whole gallery of hallucinatory special effects: ghosting, snow, psychedelic colors, vertical hold. We hated them at the time, but we may yet come to miss them. Digital signals are more robust than analog—they're less prone to distortion, and when they break up, they do it in tidy little squares, which aren't nearly as fun. In other words, after Feb. 17, do not attempt to adjust your television. It won't need you anymore. ■

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Norton
from symantec

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In the world of
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Arts

BOOKS TELEVISION SHORT LIST



BOOKS

Books Unbound. The forces of a new century are shaping a new kind of literature. It's fast, cheap and out of control

BY LEV GROSSMAN

HERE'S A LITERARY PARABLE FOR THE 21ST century. Lisa Genova, 38, was a health-care-industry consultant in Belmont, Mass., who wanted to be a novelist, but she couldn't get her book published for love or money. She had a Ph.D. in neuroscience from Harvard, but she couldn't get an agent. "I did what you're supposed to do," she says. "I queried literary agents. I went to writers' confer-

ences and tried to network. I e-mailed editors. Nobody wanted it." So Genova paid \$450 to a company called iUniverse and published her book, *Still Alice*, herself.

That was in 2007. By 2008 people were reading *Still Alice*. Not a lot of people, but a few, and those few were liking it. Genova wound up getting an agent after all—and an offer from Simon & Schuster of just over half a million dollars. Borders and Target chose it for their book clubs. Barnes & No-

ble made it a Discover pick. On Jan. 25, *Still Alice* will make its debut on the New York Times best-seller list at No. 5. "So this is extreme to extreme, right?" Genova says. "This time last year, I was selling the book out of the trunk of my car."

Something has changed, and it's not just the contents of Lisa Genova's trunk. We think of the novel as a transcendent, timeless thing, but it was shaped by the forces of money and technology just as

much as by creative genius. Passing over a few classical and Far Eastern entries, the novel in its modern form really got rolling only in the early 18th century. This wasn't an accident, and it didn't happen because a bunch of writers like Defoe and Richardson and Fielding suddenly decided we should be reading long books about imaginary people. It happened as a result of an unprecedented configuration of financial and technological circumstances. New industrial printing techniques meant you could print lots of books cheaply; a modern capitalist marketplace had evolved in which you could sell them; and for the first time there was a large, increasingly literate, relatively well-off urban middle class to buy and read them. Once those conditions were in place, writers like Defoe and Richardson showed up to take advantage of them.

Fast-forward to the early 21st century: the publishing industry is in distress. Publishing houses—among them Simon & Schuster, Macmillan, HarperCollins, Doubleday and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt—are laying off staff left and right. Random House is in the midst of a drastic reorganization. Salaries are frozen across the industry. Whispers of bankruptcy are fluttering around Borders; Barnes & Noble just cut 100 jobs at its headquarters, a measure unprecedented in the company's history. *Publishers Weekly* (PW) predicts that 2009 will be "the worst year for publishing in decades."

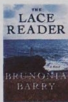
A lot of headlines and blogs to the contrary, publishing isn't dying. But it is evolving, and so radically that we may hardly recognize it when it's done. Literature interprets the world, but it's also shaped by that world, and we're living through one of the greatest economic and technological transformations since—well, since the early 18th century. The novel won't stay the same: it has always been exquisitely sensitive to newness, hence the name. It's about to renew itself again, into something cheaper, wilder, trashier, more democratic and more deliciously fertile than ever.

What's the Matter with Publishing?

IT ISN'T THE AUDIENCE. PEOPLE ARE STILL reading. According to a National Endowment for the Arts study released on Jan. 12, literary reading by adults has actually increased 3.5% since 2002, the first such increase in 26 years. So that's not the problem. What is?

The economy, obviously. Plenty of businesses are hurting. And it doesn't help that new media like video games (sales up 19% in 2008!) are now competing with books for our entertainment hours and dollars. But publishing has deeper, more systemic problems, like the fact that its business model evolved during an earlier fiscal era. It's an

Books That Came in from the Cold. Four self-published novels that hit it big



The Lace Reader
By Brunonia Barry

Barry's story of a family of women with a gift for prophecy went on to score her a \$2 million, two-book deal with William Morrow



Contagious
By Scott Sigler

Sigler started his writing career by releasing his books as podcasts. His latest continues the saga of a plague that makes people kill



Still Alice
By Lisa Genova

Having exhausted the conventional channels, Genova self-published her novel about a victim of Alzheimer's. It's currently a best seller



Daemon
By Daniel Suarez

After pitching 48 agents, Suarez hacked his way into print by releasing his twisty techno-thriller himself. Paramount snagged film rights

antique, a financial coelacanth that dates back to the Depression.

Consider the advance system, whereby a publisher pays an author a nonreturnable up-front fee for a book. If the book doesn't "earn out," in the industry parlance, the publisher simply eats the cost. Another example: publishers sell books to bookstores on a consignment system, which means the stores can return unsold books to publishers for a full refund. Publishers suck up the shipping costs both ways, plus the expense of printing and then pulping the merchandise. "They print way more than they know they can sell, to kind of create a buzz, and then they end up taking half those books back," says Sara Nelson, editor in chief of PW. These systems were created to shift risk away from authors and bookstores and onto publishers. But risk is something the publishing industry is less and less able to bear.

If you think about it, shipping physical books back and forth across the country is starting to seem pretty 20th century. Novels are getting restless, shrugging off their expensive paper husks and transmuting digitally into other forms. Devices like the Sony Reader and Amazon's Kindle have gained devoted followings. Google has scanned more than 7 million books into its online database; the plan is to

scan them all, every single one, within 10 years. Writers podcast their books and post them, chapter by chapter, on blogs. Four of the five best-selling novels in Japan in 2007 belonged to an entirely new literary form called *keitai shosetsu*: novels written, and read, on cell phones. Compared with the time and cost of replicating a digital file and shipping it around the world—i.e., zero and nothing—printing books on paper feels a little Paleolithic.

And speaking of advances, books are also leaving behind another kind of paper: money. Those cell-phone novels are generally written by amateurs and posted on free community websites, by the hundreds of thousands, with no expectation of payment. For the first time in modern history, novels are becoming detached from dollars. They're circulating outside the economy that spawned them.

Cell-phone novels haven't caught on in the U.S.—yet—but we have something analogous: fan fiction, fan-written stories based on fictional worlds and characters borrowed from popular culture—*Star Trek*, Jane Austen, *Twilight*, you name it. There's a staggering amount of it online, enough to qualify it as a literary form in its own right. Fanfiction.net hosts 386,490 short stories, novels and novellas in its *Harry Potter* section alone.

No printing and shipping. No advances. Maybe publishing will survive after all! Then again, if you can have publishing without paper and without money, why not publishing without publishers?

Old Publishing is quality-controlled and expensive. New Publishing is cheap and unconstrained by institutional taste

Vanity of Vanities, All Is Vanity

WHEN GENOVA HAD REACHED THE END of her unsuccessful search, she told the last literary agent who rejected her, "I've

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we would all
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a heart attack
coming from
a mile away.



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had enough of this. I'm going to go self-publish it." "That was by e-mail," she says. "He picked up the phone and called me within five minutes and said, 'Don't do that. You will kill your writing career before it starts.'"

It's true: saying you were a self-published author used to be like saying you were a self-taught brain surgeon. But over the past couple of years, vanity publishing has become practically respectable. As the technical challenges have decreased—you can turn a Word document on your hard drive into a self-published novel on Amazon's Kindle store in about five minutes—so has the stigma. Giga-selling fantasist Christopher Paolini started as a self-published author. After Brunonia Barry self-published her novel *The Lace Reader* in 2007, William Morrow picked it up and gave her a two-book deal worth \$2 million. The fact that William P. Young's *The Shack* was initially self-published hasn't stopped it from spending 34 weeks on the New York Times best-seller list.

Daniel Suarez, a software consultant in Los Angeles, sent his techno-thriller *Daemon* to 48 literary agents. No go. So he self-published instead. Bit by bit, bloggers got behind *Daemon*. Eventually Random House noticed and bought it and a sequel for a sum in the high six figures. "I really see a future in doing that," Suarez says, "where agencies would monitor the performance of self-published books, in a sort of Darwinian selection process, and see what bubbles to the surface. I think of it as crowd-sourcing the manuscript-submission process."

Self-publishing has gone from being the last resort of the desperate and talentless to something more like out-of-town tryouts for theater or the farm system in baseball. It's the last ripple of the Web 2.0 vibe finally washing up on publishing's remote shores. After YouTube and Wikipedia, the idea of user-generated content just isn't that freaky anymore.

And there's actual demand for this stuff. In theory, publishers are gatekeepers: they filter literature so that only the best writing gets into print. But Genova and Barry and Suarez got filtered out, initially, which suggests that there are cultural sectors that conventional publishing isn't serving. We can read in the rise of self-

Print by Numbers. A short course in literary statistics

-3.6%

Percentage drop in
hardcover sales in the
U.S. in 2008

+3.5%

Percentage increase in
the U.S. of adult readers of
literature since 2002

+10%

Percentage increase in
revenues at Author Solutions,
a self-publishing firm, in 2008

80%

Percentage of Japan's top
five best sellers in 2007 that
were written on cell phones

publishing not only a technological revolution but also a quiet cultural one—an audience rising up to claim its right to act as a tastemaker too.

The Orchard and the Jungle

SO IF THE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL changes of the 18th century gave rise to the modern novel, what's the 21st century giving us? Well, we've gone from industrialized printing to electronic replication so cheap, fast and easy, it greases the skids of literary production to the point of frictionlessness. From a modern capitalist marketplace, we've moved to a postmodern, postcapitalist bazaar where money is increasingly optional. And in place of a newly minted literate middle class, we now have a global audience of billions, with a literacy rate of 82% and rising.

Put these pieces together, and the picture begins to resolve itself: more books, written and read by more people, often for little or no money, circulating in a wild diversity of forms, both physical and electronic, far outside the charmed circle of New York City's entrenched publishing culture. Old Publishing is stately, quality-controlled and relatively expensive. New Publishing is cheap, promiscuous and unconstrained by paper, money or insti-

tutional taste. If Old Publishing is, say, a tidy, well-maintained orchard, New Publishing is a riotous jungle: vast and trackless and chaotic, full of exquisite orchids and undiscovered treasures and a hell of a lot of noxious weeds.

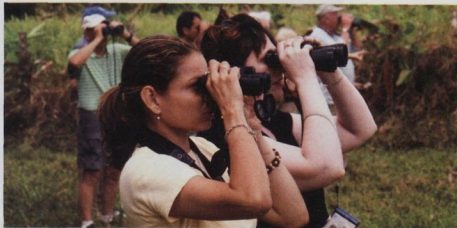
Not that Old Publishing will disappear—for now, at least, it's certainly the best way for authors to get the money and status they need to survive—but it will live on in a radically altered, symbiotic form as the small, pointy peak of a mighty pyramid. If readers want to pay for the old-school premium package, they can get their literature the old-fashioned way: carefully selected and edited, and presented in a bespoke, art-directed paper package. But below that there will be a vast continuum of other options: quickie print-on-demand editions and electronic editions for digital devices, with a corresponding hierarchy of professional and amateur editorial selectiveness. (Unpaid amateur editors have already hit the world of fan fiction, where they're called beta readers.) The wide bottom of the pyramid will consist of a vast loamy layer of free, unedited, Web-only fiction, rated and ranked YouTube-style by the anonymous reading masses.

And what will that fiction look like? Like fan fiction, it will be ravenously referential and intertextual in ways that will strain copyright law to the breaking point. Novels will get longer—electronic books aren't bound by physical constraints—and they'll be patchable and updatable, like software. We'll see more novels doled out episodically, on the model of TV series or, for that matter, the serial novels of the 19th century. We can expect a literary culture of pleasure and immediate gratification. Reading on a screen speeds you up: you don't linger on the language; you just click through. We'll see less modernist-style difficulty and more romance-novel-style sentiment and high-speed-narrative throughput. Novels will compete to hook you in the first paragraph and then hang on for dear life.

None of this is good or bad; it just is. The books of the future may not meet all the conventional criteria for literary value that we have today, or any of them. But if that sounds alarming or tragic, go back and sample the righteous zeal with which people despised novels when they first arose. They thought novels were vulgar and immoral. And in a way they were, and that was what was great about them: they shocked and seduced people into new ways of thinking. These books will too. Somewhere out there is the self-publishing world's answer to Defoe, and he's probably selling books out of his trunk. But he won't be for long.

—REPORTED BY ANDREA SACHS ■

Saying you were a self-published author used to be like saying you were a self-taught brain surgeon. But it has begun to shed its stigma



Clockwise from top left: Caño Negro Wildlife Refuge; Tortuguero Park Canal Cruise; Howler Monkey; Keel Billed Toucan; Manuel Antonio Park; Rainforest Hike

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— Arthur Frommer's Budget Travel

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— New York Times

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Starving artists Jemaine, left, and Bret, down and out in New York

TELEVISION

Return Flight. HBO's musical slacker-comics come out for a hilarious encore of *Conchords*

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

IF YOU THINK YOU HAVE TO be a slacker yourself to make a comedy about two slacker folk musicians, consider the plight of Bret McKenzie. It's late afternoon on the set of *Flight of the Conchords*, and McKenzie is hanging, duct-taped, on the back of a door.

The setup (spoiler alert!)—not that plot twists are that vital on *FOTC*: McKenzie's character, also called Bret, has been robbed in his apartment by a group of thugs, including the new girlfriend of his bandmate/roommate Jemaine (Jemaine Clement). Jemaine, who's been out sulking over problems in his new romance, walks in the door and finds Bret affixed. Bret calmly tells Jemaine his gal pal has robbed them. Jemaine stares at Bret and asks, "Did she mention me?"

The duo—who also co-write the show and the songs they perform in it—try out a slew of gags over numerous



Conchords Live!

For video of James Poniewozik's visit with Bret and Jemaine, go to time.com/conchords

takes. Finally a crew member calls a break. "Can we relieve Bret's arms for a bit?"

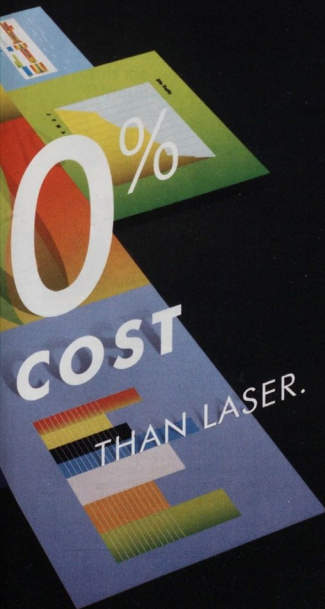
Slacking As Hard As They Can

FOR SEASON 2 OF HBO'S eccentric musical comedy (Sundays, 10 p.m. E.T.), the slackers are working harder than ever. Season 1, in 2007, took *FOTC*'s off-kilter songs, which the duo had been playing on stage for years, and built a winningly grotty sitcom around them. Bret and Jemaine are obscure musicians on New York City's Lower East Side; their version of a big gig is playing a public-library reading room, and they're so poor they share a tea mug, for which they've drawn up a schedule. They're supported by incompetent manager Murray (Rhys Darby)—by day a bureaucrat in the New Zealand consulate—and obsessed fan Mel (Kristen Schaal).

The premise, the pair say, is an exaggerated version of their early days playing shows in Wellington, N. Z. One episode, Clement says, features a concert in which "we start off, and there's one person, and then we turn the lights on at the end, and that person has left. That was

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a real gig that we did." But a passionate cult audience discovered *FOTC*'s deadpan humor and the interspersed music videos for songs like "The Most Beautiful Girl (in the Room)," a sexy soul ballad to attainable beauty. ("You're so beautiful/ You could be a part-time model/ But you'd probably still have to keep your normal job.")

HBO ordered a second season. The problem? *FOTC* had exhausted most of its song catalog—which meant writing a 10-episode season and the equivalent of a comedy album at the same time. "We're going into the studio on the weekend," McKenzie says, "and we might be finishing a song or even writing a song for that next week."

On top of that, says co-writer James Bobin, are the show's production demands. "We're shooting a sitcom and two music videos in five days. Usually you have a day or three days for a video, and you have six days to shoot a sitcom. So we basically have half the time required to do that sort of work."

Flights of Fancy

YOU WOULDN'T KNOW IT TO watch the show, which is rich with visual allusions. When Jemaine tries to pick up girls in a coffee shop by ordering a croissant in French, the scene shifts into a video for "Foux Du Fafa," a conversational-French lesson set to '60s Europop and filmed in the grainy color of *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*. "In the two or three minutes of a music video," McKenzie says, "the world can just explode open. We can get really surreal or abstract, then drop back into the world of the characters." (Michel Gondry, whose videos and films like *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* share *FOTC*'s playful aesthetic, guest-directs an episode this season.)

Keeping *FOTC* grounded are Bret and Jemaine, who depart from the Spinal Tap rock-parody standard with

their deadpan manner. They're both straight men, and thus both hilarious when they earnestly deal with absurd situations like trying to write a jingle for women's toothpaste. (As they brainstorm about things that interest women, Jemaine suggests weaving. No, Bret solemnly corrects: "Weaving's a man's game.") HBO grows most of its comedy worldly and edgy; *FOTC*'s naifs inhabit a world smaller than Carrie Bradshaw's shoe collection, but their show has a refreshing innocence.

Clement and McKenzie considered quitting after

On the show, Bret and Jemaine's version of a big gig is playing a public-library reading room



Crowd of one Mel (Schaal) is the duo's obsessive "fan base"

Season 1, knowing it would be a tough act to repeat. In the early Season 2 episodes, the strain shows in the songs, which service the plot but aren't as memorable as the old ones. But the scripts are as funny and tightly written as ever, like an episode in which Bret buys a second tea mug, a "\$2.79 spending spree" that causes their checks to bounce and sends them into a spiral of poverty.

So will the duo come back for a Season 3? Ask them after this one's over, they say. As long as they keep slacking this well, let's hope they don't quit their day jobs. ■

Simple Truth: It's important to weigh costs

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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 DVD **MGM: When the Lion Roars**

The first and most imposing movie conglomerate, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer made stars of Garbo, Harlow, Gable, Elizabeth Taylor and Lassie and housed epics like *Gone With the Wind* and *Ben-Hur*. With telling clips and interviews, Frank Martin's six-hour 1992 documentary recalls the pride of MGM.

2 ART **The Prado in Google Earth**

There may be little artistic value in seeing the painting within the painting in *Las Meninas* more closely than Velázquez himself could have. But with Google Earth's high-res technology applied to masterpieces from the Prado, you can—and the view is pretty intense.

3 MOVIE **Of Time and the City**

In a tribute to Liverpool on its 800th anniversary, director Terence Davies (*The House of Mirth*) limns his love for the old city and his hatred for the new: "the British genius for creating the dismal." There's nothing dismal about this fond, barbed, brilliant documemoir.

4 BOOK **The Somme**

On July 1, 1916, Britain, a nation used to relying on its naval muscle and its native pluck, entered the age of modern warfare on the green fields of the Somme. Peter Hart's study not only is heartrending and definitive but also makes some sense of this senseless disaster.

5 ALBUM **Merriweather Post Pavilion**

Like the Grateful Dead, Animal Collective creates plenty of weirdness for weirdness' sake. But just often enough, the Baltimore trio's noodling resolves into something ecstatic ("Summertime Clothes," "Brother Sport") or at least punny ("Lion in a Coma").



Edward Zwick's Short List

He's the director of such critically acclaimed films as *Glory*, *Legends of the Fall* and *Blood Diamond* as well as one of the creators of TV's *thirtysomething*. His new movie, *Defiance*, tells the story of the Bielski brothers, who during World War II forged a community of Jewish refugees in the Belarusian forest and fought to keep them safe. Here's what Zwick is into this winter.

Bon Iver

One of the many joys of having a teenage daughter is being treated to the sound track of her life. I became infatuated with Justin Vernon's simple, aching songwriting as she played DJ in the car en route to school, and then surreptitiously added it to my own playlist.

The Films of Axel Corti

Four features made for Austrian television that, taken together, become a portrait of a displaced generation. Closely observed, beautifully acted, utterly unsentimental yet profoundly moving.

Flight of the Conchords

If it were nothing more than the songs and videos, I'd still watch. That they somehow manage to sustain the deadpan drolleries and laugh-out-loud situations is truly remarkable. How long can they keep this up?

The Forever War, by Dexter Filkins

I thought I would never read another book that so haunted and stirred me the way Michael Herr's *Dispatches* did. But this is another war, and it called forth another voice to capture its particularly appalling images.

"The Philippe de Montebello Years," at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Not just the greatest hits of a great curator's lifework but also some of the most startling juxtapositions of art and artists ever to be assembled in one place at one time. I walked the show in an hour and then turned around and walked it again.



Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment



Nancy

Gibbs

Second Acts. When 'Hail to the Chief' stops playing, most ex-leaders of the free world learn to sing a new tune

"NEVER DID A PRISONER, RELEASED FROM HIS CHAINS, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power," declared Thomas Jefferson upon departing the presidency. Now he could retreat to Monticello, read Plato in Greek, plan and plant his University of Virginia. "I have given up newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides," he wrote to John Adams, "and I find myself much the happier."

But it is the rare modern President who retires to his farm and his library, unless by library we mean a multimillion-dollar monument to his vital role in world history. These men are, as President Bush put it in his farewell squash match with the White House press corps, "type A" personalities. "I just can't envision myself, you know, the big straw hat and Hawaiian shirt sitting on some beach," he said. "Particularly since I quit drinking." So what options beckon a President who is relatively young, healthy and unloved by more of his fellow citizens upon leaving office than any modern President including Nixon.

Some Presidents have a hard time being instantly shrink-wrapped on Inauguration Day. One minute he is the Leader of the free world; the next, he's history. "What a great change can come to a man in a matter of moments," the departing Harry Truman told a friend after Eisenhower's swearing in. Adjusting to a sudden power outage can be a remarkable challenge. Eisenhower had to be taught how to dial the phone. Calvin Coolidge was frustrated that people didn't always realize he was no longer God. "People seem to think the presidential machinery should keep on running," he commented, "even after the power has been turned off."

The standard pursuits include writing books, launching foundations, going fishing—and making money. George Washington returned to Mount Vernon to find it in a terrible state. He had to sell off land to make repairs, since eight years away had "despoiled my buildings but also deranged my private affairs." Truman, who had only modest savings and \$12.56 a month from his Army pension, had to take out a bank loan in his last couple of weeks in office, and could barely afford the stamps to answer all the letters that came in. It wasn't until 1958 that Congress got around to actually voting for a presi-

dential pension and allowance to cover overhead.

One has only to review the recent tally of Bill Clinton's postpresidential earnings to see how things have changed. But making money has seldom been any former President's chief goal; making, or remaking, history is—and it's only partially within a President's power to achieve. Truman now ranks among our top Presidents, but the peaceful end of the Cold War sure helped. Jimmy Carter has climbed from 34% to 64% approval since leaving office, but more out of respect for his humanitarian work than reconsideration of his presidency. "I don't expect many short-term historians to write nice things

about me, anyway," President Bush told me four years ago, fresh off a winning campaign. "There ought to be a rule where no one writes history about your short-term until a generation of those who never voted for you or against you show up, you know what I'm saying?"

But the record suggests there are some things a President can do to boost his long-term value. Of all his predecessors, Bush may have the most to learn from Hoover, the one to whom, given the current Great Recession, he is increasingly

compared. Bush may not be popular, but there aren't crowds calling for him to be hanged or accusing him of raiding Fort Knox before fleeing the country. Hoover left office in an even deeper hole than Bush, but he had the great advantage of a strong constitution. He lived another 31 years, during which time he was among the greatest champions of children this country has ever known. He drove the growth of Boys Clubs of America, the creation of UNICEF; he led the campaign to get food to millions of civilians who faced a catastrophic famine after World War II. That's what he was good at—fixing things like the engineer he was. By the time he died, he had tamed his critics and turned up as a regular on Gallup's list of the most admired men. How'd he do it? "I outlived the bastards," he said.

"I've always felt politics would be just a chapter of my life, not my life," Bush told me. He may be content to leave his legacy to history, but if Herbert Hoover, Carter and his father are any guide, using his platform to do great and lasting good, for a cause he cares about, may do as much for his image as any future historian with a polishing cloth. ■



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